West Virginia History

A Quarterly Magazine

April, 1944

Cecile R. Goodall, *Editor* Bess Harrison, *Managing Editor*

VOLUME V APRIL, 1944 NUMBER 3

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West Virginia History, a quarterly magazine published in January, April, July, and October, by the State Department of Archives and History, Charleston, West Virginia.

Subscription price ---------- $2.00 per year
Single number ---------- 50 cents

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and subscriptions may be sent to the editors, care of the Department of Archives and History.

The Department of Archives and History assumes no responsibility for statements made by contributors.

Offices: State Capitol, Charleston, West Virginia.

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Romney in the Civil War*

By C. H. Ambler

No town in West Virginia or in Virginia, except Winchester, "changed hands" more frequently in the Civil War than did Romney. Residents and county historians now claim a total of fifty-six occupations and reoccupations for the latter.[1] In all these changes there was not, however, a single hard-fought battle, and skirmishes were neither severe nor numerous. At times troops of one side marched out peacefully, while those of the other as peacefully entered. The town was also visited frequently by raiders who dashed in and out or tarried awhile as determined by the nearness and strength of the enemy. From beginning to end individuals and small groups of individuals, especially scouts and partisan rangers, came and went in defiance of occupation forces. At times a few shots were exchanged and there were two or three sharp skirmishes.

It is not the purpose of this study to verify the claims regarding the mobility of Romney in the Civil War. Instead, an effort will be made to relate the military history of that place and period to larger and more important operations. Such a study cannot of course ignore the South Branch Valley, which was largely Confederate, and neighboring valleys, particularly New Creek and Patterson Creek, each of which contained resident Federals. This story might have been told as well perhaps from the New Creek (Keyser) or even the Moorefield approach, but Romney was preferred.

The importance of Romney in the Civil War was its location with respect to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. In June, 1861, the defense of this road was regarded by

*This article is the result of researches by the author and his students in West Virginia University. In 1941 Arthur Gordon Stonaker wrote a master's thesis on the same subject, but other students, notably Robert C. Shuman, extended his researches. In its final form the article is the work of the present author.

[1] Hu Maxwell and Howard L. Swisher, *History of Hampshire County, West Virginia*, p. 549.

Major General George B. McClellan, then assuming field command of the Department of Ohio, which included western Virginia, as "the most important duty next to his own."[2] During the two years next ensuing Romney, located on the Northwestern Turnpike forty-three miles west of Winchester, twenty-seven miles south of Cumberland, thirteen miles east of New Creek (Keyser), and twenty-two miles northeast of Moorefield, was a strategic defense point for Federals and a coveted objective of Confederates. After Gettysburg it was a striking point for intercepting Federal supply trains passing south from New Creek. In the closing months of the war it was an intermediary objective for raiders, both Federal and Confederate.

The Civil War history of a part of West Virginia centers therefore in and about Romney. Because of the interest of local residents and the descendants of participants, a conscious effort has been made to make the present study as informing as possible with respect to proper names. For like reasons it is also somewhat detailed in other respects.

Unlike most western Virginia towns, Romney, then the center of a rich agricultural area and a sizable Negro slave population,[3] was almost unanimously Confederate. Moreover, it was not averse to secession. Influenced by the John Brown Raid, residents of Hampshire County, of which Romney was the county seat, had in 1860 organized a company of militia with Robert White as captain. The day before the adoption of the Secession Ordinance by the Virginia Convention Colonel Angus W. McDonald, a former resident of Romney then residing in Winchester, in person presented a petition to John W. Garrett, President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, asking him to prevent

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[2] Whitelaw Reid, *Ohio in the War: Her Statesmen, Her Generals, and Soldiers*, Vol. 1, p. 811.

[3] According to the Federal Census for 1860 Hampshire, with 1,213 Negroes, was the fourth largest slaveholding county in present West Virginia. Hardy, with 1,073 and similar economic conditions, was sixth. Other large slaveholding counties were Jefferson with 3,960, Kanawha with 2,184, Greenbrier with 1,525, and Monroe with 1,114. The total for these six counties was 11,069; whereas, the total for present West Virginia was only 18,371.

the removal of arms from the Federal Arsenal at Harpers Ferry. Ten days after the adoption of the Secession Ordinance residents of Hampshire County, in mass meeting assembled, appointed a committee of safety. Before the popular vote on the Ordinance was taken this committee was raising funds by voluntary contributions, and four days after its approval, but before the results were known, the Hampshire County Court appropriated $10,000 to make the Secession Ordinance effective.[4]

Thus sustained the "Frontier Riflemen" and the "Hampshire Guards" in May, 1861, organized themselves into a company which, with Robert White as captain, volunteered its services and set out for Harpers Ferry, where Virginians were rallying in defense of their state under the leadership of Colonel Thomas J. Jackson.[5] Instances in the leave-taking of this company are revealing with respect to its spirit and background. With Colonels David Gibson and Isaac Parsons, prominent local residents, leading the way and exhorting "the Boys" to do or die for liberty, they set out in buggies and wagons for Green Spring on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. There they were met by Captain Edward H. McDonald, son of Colonel Angus W. McDonald, who had just re-

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[4] Maxwell and Swisher, *Hampshire County*, pp. 547-550, 604; Festus P. Summers, *The Baltimore and Ohio in the Civil War*, p. 236.

[5] The following Confederate companies were recruited and organized in Hampshire County:

Co. 1—13th., Regt. Va. Infantry; the "Frontier Riflemen"; Capt. Robert White.
Co. K—13th., Regt. Va. Infantry; the "Hampshire Guards"; Capt. John B. Sherrand, then Capt. Felix Heiskell. This was the oldest military organization in Hampshire County.
Co. I—18th., Regt. Va. Infantry; Capt. D. E. Bell.
Co. A—33rd. Regt. Va., Infantry; the "Potomac Guards"; Capt. Philip L. Grace.
Co. F—7th., Regt. Va., Cavalry; Capt. Geo. F. Sheetz; then Capt. Isaac Kuykendall, but 37 men in this company were from Hardy County.
Co. B—11th., Regt. Va., Cavalry; Capt. Wm. H. Harness. Seventy men in this company were from Hardy County.
Co. D—11th., Regt. Va., Cavalry; Capt. Edward H. McDonald.
Co. B—18th., Regt. Va., Cavalry; Capt. Geo. W. Stump. Fifty men in this company were from Hardy County.
Co. C 18th., Regt. Va., Cavalry; Capt. Mathew Ginevan.
Co. F—18th., Regt. Va., Cavalry; Capt. Robert Bruce Muse. A number of men in this company were from Frederick County, Virginia.
Co. K—18th., Regt. Va., Cavalry; Capt. Jno. H. Piles.
Co. C—23rd., Va. Cavalry; Capt. Christian Streit White.
Co. E—23rd., Regt. Va., Cavalry; Capt. Jonathan Mortimer Lovett.

For the above information the writer is indebted to Vause W. Marshall of Williamsport, West Virginia. In addition to the companies listed by him there was one company of Federals in Hampshire County, as then constituted. It was organized on May 5, 1862 by Captain James A. Jarboe and was mustered into the Federal service on May 19, 1862, as Company I, Tenth (West) Virginia, volunteer infantry. Maxwell and Swisher, *Hampshire County*, pp. 441-443; West Virginia Adjutant General, *Annual Report* (1864), p. 281.

turned from Old Town, Maryland, where he had been dealing with an antisecession movement. As the Boys moved out of the Green Spring station, their friends turned homeward "with feelings of sadness which could not be shaken off."[6] From Green Spring the company proceeded to Harpers Ferry, where it became a part of the Seventy-seventh Virginia militia in command of General Kenton Harper.

It was to disperse and prevent such activities as these that Colonel Lewis (Lew) Wallace, in command of the Eleventh Indiana (Zouaves), occupied Romney for a few hours on June 13, 1861. Or as stated by Wallace himself, "Having been notified that several hundred rebel troops were quartered at Romney . . . drilling there, impressing Union men, and in other ways oppressing loyal citizens, I determined to disperse them, if possible."[7] Entrance was effected as the result of a light skirmish, and the unorganized militia and volunteers fled. According to Wallace they were accompanied by a "mass of women and children."

Having accomplished his purpose, Wallace returned to his headquarters at Camp McGinnis, near Cumberland. The chief result of his expedition was to strengthen the heart of "the loyal people of that region." As a consequence, Colonel Wallace predicted that his commanding officer would shortly hear of "another Union company from that district."[8]

The Wallace Raid and its consequences were not ignored by Confederates, for on June 18, Colonel Ambrose P. Hill of the Thirteenth Virginia ordered Colonel John C. Vaughan of the Third Tennessee to take two companies of his own regiment and two of Colonel Hill's and proceed at once to New Creek, there to disperse rallying Federals and to destroy the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. In pursuit of this order Colonel Vaughan dispersed about 250

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[6] Lieutenant John Blue, "Experiences" in *Hampshire Review*, (Romney, West Virginia), March 9, 1898—April 17, 1901.

[7] *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, I. Vol. II, p. 123; *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, Vol. 1, pp. 120, 127-128. See also *Harper's Weekly* (July 6, 1861), Vol. V, p. 423.

[8] *O. R.*, I, Vol. II, p. 124. This reference was doubtless to Captain Jarboe's company organized at Piedmont on May 5.

Federals, destroyed a railroad bridge at present Keyser, and captured an enemy flag. That Vaughan operated from Romney is indicated by the fact that he reported to Colonel Hill at that place.[9]

About this time the duty of guarding bridges and fords along the Potomac was assigned to Colonel Angus W. McDonald, who also had been active in seeing the Hampshire Boys off to Harpers Ferry. Shortly after they set out he followed them and personally tendered his services for the defense of Virginia.[10] Although "the Colonel" was then sixty-two years of age, his offer was accepted. A graduate of West Point who had served in the Army of the United States, he was welcomed into the Confederate service. This was indicated by the fact that his commission, colonel of cavalry, was presented by President Jefferson Davis.[11] Colonel McDonald then proceeded to Winchester and set about the organization of a regiment which later became the Seventh Virginia cavalry and still later, under Brigadier General Thomas L. Rosser, the famous Laurel Brigade.[12]

The immediate purpose of organizing this regiment was the destruction of the Cheat River bridge of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.[13] When it became evident that Major General Joseph E. Johnston, who had superseded Jackson at Harpers Ferry, was not in danger from a Federal advance, Colonel McDonald proceeded to his original assignment. For that purpose he went to Romney, where he, with the aid of Captain Turner Ashby, completed the organization of his regiment. Like members of the first volunteer company from Hampshire County, members of this regiment were armed with flintlocks, some of which had reposed in the courthouse at Romney since

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[9] *O. R.*, I, Vol. II, pp. 130-131, 471; Maxwell and Swisher, *Hampshire County*, p. 604; *Confederate Military History*, Vol. II, pt. two, p. 24.
[10] Captain William N. McDonald, *A History of the Laurel Brigade*, p. 19.
[11] *O. R.*, I, Vol. II, p. 952.
[12] McDonald, *Laurel Brigade*, pp. 17-22; *O. R.*, I Vol. II, p. 953.
[13] *O. R.*, I, Vol. II, pp. 904, 952; Mrs. Cornelia McDonald, *A Dairy With Reminiscences of the War and Refugee Life in the Shenandoah Valley*, 1860-1865, p. 21.

shortly after the Revolution and been reconditioned for another fight for liberty.[14]

Company F of the Seventh Virginia cavalry, commanded by Captain George F. Sheetz, was the only unit of this outfit from Hampshire County. Company A, Ashby's first command, was from Fauquier County. Three of the other eight companies were from Shenandoah, two from Rockingham, and one each from Page and Warren counties, and Company G, commanded by Captain Frank Mason, was from Maryland.

As the Seventh grew in size additional space was needed. Accordingly, Ashby, who was in active command, moved his headquarters from Romney to "Camp Washington" on the George W. Washington farm about six miles north,[15] where he could guard the railroad more effectively. At this point his chief difficulty came from having his plans and activities revealed to the enemy by resident friends of the Union. In an effort to prevent this Colonel Ashby sent his younger brother, Captain Richard Ashby, who had succeeded to the command of Company A of the newly formed regiment, to arrest offending parties. It was while thus engaged that Captain Ashby was killed on June 26 in such a manner as to indicate foul play. The incident is said to have fired the fighting spirit of Colonel Ashby, who from that time until his death in action near Harrisonburg on June 6, 1862, was one of the most daring and resourceful among Confederate commanders. As such he was known as "the Knight of the Valley."[16]

With ever increasing effectiveness Colonels McDonald and Ashby continued to guard Federal interests in the Romney sector until July 18, when the former was, by order of Brigadier General Joseph E. Johnston, sent to Staunton to help defend the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad against a threat incident to Federal successes of July 11 and 13 at Rich Mountain and Corricks Ford in present

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[14] *O. R.*, I, Vol. II, pp. 952-953; McDonald, *Laurel Brigade*, p. 21; Maxwell and Swisher, *Hampshire County*, p. 635; Blue, "Experiences."

[15] Blue, "Experiences."

[16] McDonald, *Laurel Brigade*, pp. 22-23, 67-68; John W. Wayland, *Stonewall Jackson's Way*, p. 143.

West Virginia.[17] About the same time Colonel Ashby with a portion of the Seventh Virginia was ordered to Winchester to function in movements which soon thereafter led to First Manassas.

Two days after the departure of Colonel McDonald for Staunton a "Colonel Cain," Federal, visited Romney. The next day being a court day with persons standing about the courthouse, a Federal soldier rode up under a flag of truce and, having delivered a letter for Colonel David Gibson, indicated that Colonel Cain wished to interview him. Although neither the Colonel nor the stranger tarried long, their presence threw the town into a commotion and "the people fled."[18]

According to Maxwell and Swisher a "Colonel Cummins," Colonel A. C. Cummings of Brigadier General Thomas J. Jackson's command at First Manassas, occupied Romney in July, 1861. Shortly after the Wallace Raid Colonel Cummings had been active in organizing militia in Hampshire and Hardy counties. There is, however, no reference to his activity in the *Official Records,* but it is quite probable, because it is hardly likely that Johnston would have removed both Colonel McDonald and Colonel Ashby without replacing them. On this point the presence of Jackson in Winchester shortly after First Manassas is recalled.[19]

Not only did the Confederates continue to occupy Romney at this time, but they retained it during the summer and autumn of 1861. Colonel McDonald, in command of militia, was in charge on September 23, when the town was again attacked by Federals.[20] McDonald's taking over at that time was at the order of General R. E. Lee who, on September 18, 1861, advised him that Federals were withdrawing from Romney. He therefore considered it an opportune time "to push at the railroad and destroy it."[21]

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[17] *O. R.*, I, Vol. II, pp. 986, 995.
[18] Maxwell and Swisher, *Hampshire County*, pp. 550, 556-557.
[19] *O. R.*, I, Vol. II, p. 993; Maxwell and Swisher, *Hampshire County*, pp. 635-636.
[20] *O. R.*, I, Vol. V, pp. 200-201.
[21] *O. R.*, I, Vol. V, p. 857.

Colonel Ashby remained in the region of Harpers Ferry.[22]

Instead of using Romney as a point of attack Colonel McDonald found it necessary to defend it, for late at night on September 23, 1861 his pickets were driven in by the enemy. Firing continued during the night, and early the next morning Federals made a feigned attack by way of Mechanicsburg Gap; but, as expected by Colonel McDonald, the main attack was through Hanging Rock Gap about four miles north of the town. By secreting themselves upon the overhanging summit of this pass and casting heavy stones upon the enemy, the Confederates had a temporary advantage but it was soon overcome, and in the afternoon of September 24 the enemy approached the town. As a portion of his force was seen making a circular movement, it was feared that the baggage train of the defenders, which had been secreted about two miles east on the road to Winchester, would be cut off. McDonald therefore ordered his troops to withdraw in that direction. But, instead of attacking his train, the enemy entered Romney.[23]

The next morning Colonel McDonald, having learned that the Federals were somewhat disorganized and were pillaging Romney, ordered his force to charge them. In pursuit of this order Major Oliver R. Funsten, in command of cavalry, dashed into the town, took supplies, and pursued the enemy to South Branch Bridge, where he attempted in vain to make a stand. The enemy then retired to Keyser but was pursued most of the way.

Among Confederate officers who had parts in these engagements, were Colonels Alexander Monroe and Edward H. McDonald commanding the One Hundred Fourteenth and the Seventy-seventh Virginia militia regiments, respectively; Captains George F. Sheetz, Walter Bowen, S. B. Myers, and W. V. Innskeep; and Lieutenants Angus W. McDonald, Jr., John Blue, and J. H. Lionberger. As reported by Colonel McDonald, his force consisted of 300

[22] Douglas S. Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, Vol. 1, pp. 309-310.
[23] *O. R.*, I, Vol. V. pp. 200-206; McDonald, *Laurel Brigade*, p. 26. Maxwell and Swisher, *Hampshire County*, pp. 57-62, 550, 557-562.

cavalry and 250 infantry, whereas the enemy aggregated 1,500, including 75 cavalry.[24] The Federals engaged in this action consisted almost entirely of the Fourth and the Eighth Ohio, but the scouting and pioneering were done by about 50 members of the later famous Ringgold cavalry commanded by Captain John Keys.[25] The attack was undertaken however at the order of Colonel Benjamin F. Kelley, commander of the Grafton District.

In an attack commenced October 24, 1861, Federals were more successful in their efforts to occupy Romney. In pursuit of orders from Lieutenant General Winfield Scott and under the immediate direction of Colonel Kelley, they then attacked for the primary purpose of protecting the Railroad. Their force consisted of Ohio and Virginia infantry which, in addition to their rifles, carried "6-pounder" and "12-pounder" guns. It was also protected by the Ringgold cavalry and a cavalry company commanded by Captain John L. McGee of Monongalia County, (West) Virginia.[26]

The Confederates held against the artillery charge by way of Mechanicsburg Gap, but on October 26, they fell back and were pursued a short distance down the Winchester Road. A skirmish at the Wire Bridge about six miles below Romney featured the defense. Here Colonel Monroe, in command of Hampshire militia, temporarily withstood the Federal advance. But, when he heard cannonading in Romney, he knew all was lost and fell back to Blue's Gap on the Winchester Road.[27]

According to Colonel Kelley, the Federals in this engagement captured 300 stand of small arms, a large quantity of munitions and supplies, and about 100 horses and mules. Their own loss was only one killed and 20 wounded.[28] That Kelley considered the results decisive was indicated by the fact that he two days later issued an

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[24] *O. R.*, I, Vol. V. p. 206, 200-214.
[25] John W. Elwood, *Stories of the Old Ringgold Cavalry, 1847-1865*, pp. 51-53; Whitelaw Reid, *Ohio in the War*, Vol. II, pp. 36, 66.
[26] *O. R.*, I, Vol. V, p. 380; Reid, *Ohio in the War*, Vol. II, pp. 36, 66.
[27] Maxwell and Swisher, *Hampshire County*, pp. 565-566; *O. R.*, I, Vol. V, pp. 382-383.
[28] *O. R.*, I, Vol. V, pp. 378-380.

"Address to the people of Hampshire County and the Upper Potomac." In this way he assured them that he came as a protector and restorer of their civil, social and political rights and not as a destroyer, provided they laid down their arms and took an oath of allegiance to the government of the United States.[29]

Eight days later Kelley suggested to General McClellan the importance of holding Romney, which he regarded as "the key to the valley of the upper branches of the Potomac . . . and the counties of Hampshire, Hardy, Pendleton, and Highland." Operating from it with a force of from 8,000 to 10,000 men, he felt confident of his ability "to go up this valley and fall in the rear of the rebel forces at Monterey and Greenbrier and cut off their supplies."[30]

Although skirmishes were reported in the Romney region in November and December, 1861, the town remained in possession of Federals. The greatest and for a time the only threat to their security was Stonewall Jackson who on November 4, 1861 had taken command of the Valley District with headquarters at Winchester.[31] Soon thereafter additional troops were detached to Kelley whose forces on December 9, 1861, according to Jackson, aggregated 7,000 strong. On December 20, 1861, Kelley was assigned to command the newly created "Railroad Division" and soon thereafter moved his headquarters to Cumberland.[32] Federals continued however to occupy Romney with Colonel Samuel H. Dunning of the Fifth Ohio volunteer infantry in command.[33]

Federals and Confederates continued meanwhile to spar for advantage with respect to transportation facilities. Having been informed that the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal had been made serviceable to Federals, Jackson decided to break Dam No. 5 near Bath and thus put the Canal out

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[29] *O. R.*, I, Vol. V, p. 638.
[30] *O. R.*, I, Vol. V, pp. 390, 392, 644.
[31] *O. R.*, I, Vol. V, p. 389.
[32] *O. R.*, I, Vol. V, p. 552.
[33] *O. R.*, I, Vol. V, p. 404; Lawrence Wilson, *Itinerary of the Seventh Ohio, Volunteer Infantry*, p. 114.

of use. By December 21 this had been accomplished, but on January 1, 1862, with a view to pressing this advantage, Brigadier General Richard B. Garnett made an attack on Bath. Largely because of delinquencies on the part of Brigadier General William W. Loring the results were not satisfactory to Jackson, and he therefore decided to move to "the great object of the expedition," the recapture of Romney. For this purpose the way had been paved by driving the enemy across the Potomac, by breaking the telegraph wires at several points, and by destroying the railroad bridge across the Big Cacapon. Accordingly, his command was, on January 7, 1862, put in motion.[34]

The Federals were not asleep to this move, as indicated by an order from Kelley to Colonel Dunning to thwart it. For that purpose Dunning assembled a force of about 2,000 men at Blue's Gap. Here an advance guard of Confederate militia under Colonel Monroe was defeated on January 7, thus delaying the Confederate movement on Romney. They had been overtaken by unexpected severe weather and, as a consequence, had tarried for a few days at nearby Unger's Store.[35] The delay was however only temporary, for on January 10, the Federals evacuated Romney which, three days later, was occupied by companies of Confederate cavalry commanded by Captains George F. Sheetz and E. H. Shans. Loring was then placed in command at Romney, and Jackson took his own brigade back to Winchester.[36]

Contrary to the wishes and purposes of Jackson, the Confederate occupation of Romney proved short lived. He had hoped to use it as a base for operations in northwest Virginia and the upper Ohio Valley and for the termination of the war,[37] but Loring in his wintry isolation failed to see the possibilities. Moreover, he felt that he and his command were being discriminated against to no practical purpose. In fact, some of his subordinates insisted that

[34] *O. R.*, I, Vol. V, pp. 392, 965.
[35] *O. R.*, I, Vol. V, pp. 404-405; Wilson, *Seventh Ohio*, pp. 115-117.
[36] *O. R.*, I, Vol. V, p. 393; Reid, *Ohio and the War*, Vol. II, p. 36.
[37] *O. R.*, I, Vol. V, p. 965; Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, Vol. I, p. 122; Summers, *B. & O*, pp. 107-108.

Jackson was crazy. Accordingly they, in a round robin, protested to their superiors in Richmond, who, on January 30, and without investigating the situation too closely, ordered Jackson to abandon Romney immediately and move his entire force to Winchester.[38]

Jackson complied but at the same time forwarded to the Secretary of War his conditional resignation from the Army.[39] Through intercessions by General Joseph E. Johnston, Governor John Letcher, Alexander R. Boteler, and others, he was prevailed upon to reconsider his resignation,[40] but, in the absence of Confederate troops in Romney, it was, on February 7, again occupied by Federals.[41] On the following day the *Cincinnati Gazette* indicated that Brigadier General Frederick W. Lander had occupied the town, and six days later he reported that he had broken up "the rebel nest at Bloomery Gap."[42]

According to Maxwell and Swisher Confederate militia were in Romney in the spring of 1862,[43] but their sojourn could not have been for a long period or very effective, for, as indicated in the "Experiences" of Lieutenant John Blue, a resident and a participant, Lieutenant Colonel Stephen W. Downey of the Third Maryland militia, otherwise known as the "Potomac Home Brigade, on March 3, took command of the Federal troops there. On March 28, his force, aggregating 1,252 men, was made up of his own brigade and twelve companies of Virginia (loyal) volunteer infantry.[44] Downey was the resident commander until early in May, when he left to join Brigadier General Schenck at Franklin, in present Pendleton County, West Virginia. Moreover, Schenck had moved from Cumberland to Franklin by way of Romney,[45] and on May 9. Brigadier General William S. Rosecrans sent three dispatches from Federal headquarters there.[46] Thus Rom-

[38] Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, Vol. I, p. 123; *O. R.*, I, Vol. V, p. 1053, 1046-1047.
[39] *O. R.*, I, Vol. V, p. 1053.
[40] *O. R.*, I, Vol. V, pp. 1059-1071; Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, Vol. I. pp. 125-129.
[41] *O. R.*, I, Vol. V, p. 1068.
[42] *O. R.*, I, Vol. V, p. 405; Summers, *B. & O*, pp. 112-114; Reid, *Ohio in the War*, Vol. II, p. 58; Wilson, *Seventh Ohio*, p. 118.
[43] *Hampshire County*, p. 550.
[44] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXII, pt. three, p. 25.
[45] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XII, pt. three, p. 72.
[46] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XII, pt. three, p. 156.

ney was not a very safe place for Confederates from early January, 1862, to mid-May of that year, for the Federals had meanwhile extended their occupation some distance and in every direction.

The spring of 1862 was in fact the heyday of Federal power in and about Romney. Although the resident commanders maintained friendly relations with leading residents, their subordinates were not always so agreeable. Worse still, they destroyed public and private property, and one of them was guilty of an unspeakable desecration of courthouse records. It was at this time that this country village found its way into illustrated publications, notably *Harper's and Leslie's Weekly*. One of these illustrations shows six groups of Federal tents paralleling Main Street and flanking the town on its south and north sides.[47]

This was also a period of thrilling incidents. Among such was the escape of Lieutenant John Blue from imprisonment in the "Old Bank" or present Wirgman Building. Following his capture in his father's residence, to which he had secretly repaired for a change of clothing and for food and rest, this noted ranger was being held until such time as he could be sent to Wheeling for trial as a spy. Notwithstanding the seriousness of the charge against him, he was offered his freedom, provided he would take an oath of allegiance to the United States and, if necessary, take up arms in its defense. This he declined to do and instead watched for an opportunity to escape.

This came early on Easter Monday, April 20. Having assured himself that his guards were asleep, he struck the dozing attendant a stunning blow and, having appropriated his blue coat and cap, was gone. Thus disguised, he was able to elude other Federal soldiers and make his escape to the near-by hills as rattling drums and warning bugles announced his escape. After a hazardous experience Blue on the following day came to a shanty on Big Moun-

[47] See *Harper's Weekly* (July 6, 1861). Vol. V., p. 423; and Frank Leslie's *Pictorial History of the Civil War* (Squier, ed., New York, 1862) Vol. I, p. 68.

tain, later called "Fort Defiance," but in such physical plight that he was unable to walk even a short distance to view the remains of his dear friend, Colonel Isaac Parsons.

Incidents connected with the death of Colonel Parsons are also informing with respect to conditions in Romney at that time. While aiding in recruiting a Confederate company on near-by Grassy Lick Run, Isaac Parsons, Jr., his son, was surprised and fled. In the course of his flight several shots were sent after him and he stumbled and fell in such a manner as to indicate that he had been killed. The resulting shock was fatal to the aged father who witnessed the incident from a distance.

On the alleged score that Colonel Parsons had also been aiding the Confederates, Federals claimed his body, not to give it burial but with a view to confiscating the considerable property of the deceased. But for the intervention of "Professor" Joseph Nelson, an English alien resident who was then principal of the Romney Classical Institute, this might have been done. Nelson claimed the remains and, by asserting his rights and privileges as an alien, was able to turn them over to the proper persons for burial.[48]

Following Jackson's victories of May, 1862, in the Valley, Confederates pursued retreating Federals all the way to the Potomac. Detachments of the former may therefore have been in Romney at that time, but the records contain no mention of their presence. On the other hand, they imply that Federals continued to occupy Romney, for on June 22, Colonel Albert Tracy, from the headquarters of the Mountain Division at Strasburg, suggested to Brigadier General Kelley that the Eighty-fourth Ohio, then on the point of being demobilized, be stationed at Romney "until further notice." At the same time he requested Kelley to direct the Federal commanders at Petersburg and Moorefield "to be extremely vigilant."[49] This was moreover a period of numerous guerilla movements in the regions about Moorefield, New Creek, and the Cheat

[48] Blue, "Experiences": MS, Letter from Mrs. Jeanette Nelson Wood, daughter of Joseph Nelson, to Mrs. Mamie Loy McKa.
[49] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XII, pt. three, p. 426.

River railroad bridge.[50] It is possible that some of the participants came near to, or even entered, Romney.

After the battle of Sharpsburg General Lee recrossed the Potomac and remained for about a month in the Shenandoah Valley in the vicinity of Bunker Hill and Winchester.[51] Although his presence was threatening to Romney, no recorded movements were made in that direction. Thus General Kelley on October 1, reported from New Creek: "Nothing new; all quiet here. . . . The enemy pickets extended westward from Winchester to Bloomery Gap, on the Springfield Road, and Big Cacapon Bridge, on the Romney Road."[52]

Although their activities were not far-reaching, Confederates were in the South Branch Valley in the autumn of 1862. The opening of through traffic on the Baltimore and Ohio and the hoisting, five months later, of the Stars and Stripes over its stations had greatly incensed and alarmed their leaders. As a consequence Governor John Letcher, in September, 1862, demanded the abatement of the railroad as a nuisance.[53] In response thereto Colonel Imboden and Captain John H. McNeil, the latter with his newly organized rangers, were sent into the South Branch Valley to drive out needed beef cattle and destroy the railroad. For Imboden's success in this not unfamiliar work General Lee on October 19, congratulated him.[54]

Details of Colonel Imboden's activities are informing. In September he had almost succeeded in destroying Cheat River Bridge but was frustrated by a "Union woman" who rode twenty-five miles through the woods to notify General Kelley of the impending danger. Returning to Highland County, Imboden had also attempted to capture Romney. Moving "very secretly" through Brock's Gap and down Lost River, he came within five miles of his ob-

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[50] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XII, pt. three, pp. 426, 443, 618; Blue, "Experiences."
[51] Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, Vol, II, pp. 405-414; J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, p. 130.
[52] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XIX, pt. two, p. 9.
[53] Virginia General Assembly, *House Journal* (called Sess., 1862) p. 88; Summers, *B & O*, p. 116; *O. R.*, I, Vol. XII, pt. three, pp. 24-25; *O. R.*, I Vol. XIX, p. 672; Maxwell and Swisher (p. 577), who state that Hampshire County was at this time strongly held by Federal soldiers.
[54] *O. R.* I, Vol. XIX, pt. two, p. 672; *Conf. Mil. Hist.*, Vol. II, pt. two, pp. 117-118.

jective, only to find that it had been evacuated that evening. He then occupied the town for two days, at the end of which he set out to surprise Federals. Moving his whole force two miles out of the town, as if to abandon it, he then ambushed the road. As expected the enemy cavalry soon came along. Imboden's force then fell upon it, unhorsing fifteen men, wounding several others, and capturing two unhurt.

After moving back to his base in Hardy County, Imboden reported that he had "kept Kelley running up and down the railroad for ten days." Furthermore, he indicated that there had been no Federal raid into the Hardy-Hampshire region since he had been there. At the same time he revealed his intention to "move down east of Romney and attempt the destruction of the bridge over the Little Cacapon River." He then planned to send cavalry to Romney and, if reinforced by a brigade, he felt certain of his ability to take New Creek and even Cumberland and to demolish the railroad.[55]

In pursuit of these plans Imboden on the morning of October 4, captured a company guarding the Little Cacapon Bridge. He then burned the bridge, cut the telegraph wires, and proceeded to Paw Paw, where a company, guarding the railroad, surrendered without firing a shot.[56] In reporting the incident Colonel Jacob M. Campbell, Federal, stated that Imboden was supposed to be from Romney'[57] but there is no evidence that he had passed that way on this expedition. In a report to Jackson the previous week, he had indicated his intention to "move down east of Romney" and then send his cavalry into it "to threaten the road higher up."

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[55] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XIX, pt. two, pp. 630-631. This report is dated September 27, 1862. This raid must have occurred then, about September 23-25. Maxwell and Swisher do not mention any occupation in September, 1862 by Imboden's or other Confederate forces. They state (p. 551) that in the fall of 1862 General Lander sent Maryland troops to Romney. There is no doubt but what there were Federal troops in the vicinity continuously during this fall, but General Lander had been dead since March of that year. According to these authors Imboden seized the town in November after General Lander's occupation. Inasmuch as they do not mention Imboden's September raid and as there is no record of his occupying the town in November, they have evidently confused Imboden's St. George Raid of November, 1862, with his raid on Romney in September of that year.

[56] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XIX, pt. two, pp. 19, 24-25.

[57] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XIX, pt. two p. 19.

At this time Captain McNeil, with about 30 men, was sent toward Romney,[58] where he defeated a Federal detachment of 60, whose captain was captured, but no mention of this incident is in the *Official Records*. It is certain, however, that Imboden's main force was then at Blue's Gap, where, in his absence guarding the Railroad, his camp was raided by a detachment of about 30 cavalry under Captain William H. Boyd, sent out from the Federal garrison at Springfield. This raid netted the Federals 25 prisoners together with artillery wagons, horses and mules, and Imboden's private papers.[59]

The same day Colonel Andrew T. McReynolds reported from Green Spring that he had taken "full precautionary measures" for the protection of the Railroad by placing pickets at Springfield and Romney.[60] Thus aided, Kelley expected Brigadier General William W. Averell to move up the Big Cacapon and capture Imboden.[61] If Imboden was in danger at this time, the situation soon changed, for reports that Jackson was again advancing threw Federals into flight. Instead of moving as planned, Averell was ordered to "picket and guard the railroad bridges, and also to patrol the country toward Romney and Moorefield, so that no large force of the enemy can pass into Western Virginia without our being advised of it in time to act."[62] This order seems to imply that Federals were then in possession of Romney.

This inference was confirmed by Averell's report of October 4, which said that the Confederates had withdrawn from Springfield and Romney and the country in his front and that Imboden had gone to Wardensville.[63] Meanwhile, General Lee's army remained in the lower Shenandoah Valley, giving anxiety to Federal commanders. On October 20, Jackson's corps of 30,000 men was reported at Martinsburg, North Mountain, and Hedges-

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[58] *Conf. Mil. Hist.*, Vol. II, pt. two, p. 118.
[59] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XIX, pt. two, pp. 18, 385.
[60] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XIX, pt. two, p. 17.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 385.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 397.
[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

ville tearing up the Railroad and carrying the track away. At the same time, another force was reported as having crossed the mountain and being in motion to attack the railroad above Sir John's Run.[64] Eight days later a Confederate force was reported at Charles Town with Jackson on his way to retake Harpers Ferry.[65] It is not improbable that Confederates from some of these commands were in Romney.

Although the Confederates in Lee's first invasion of the North almost completely destroyed the Railroad between Hancock and Monocacy Bridge, through rail traffic was resumed on January 6, 1863, and Federals were again in control of the Potomac situation. On October 29, there were 10,000 of them at Harpers Ferry and a brigade each at Sharpsburg, Williamsport, and Cumberland. Besides, four small cavalry commands maintained a constant patrol of the River and the Railroad between Harpers Ferry and Cumberland.[66] Thus protected McClellan, toward the last of October and shortly before he was again removed from his command, began to move his army across the Potomac in pursuit of Lee,[67] and the pressure upon Romney and other near-by points tended again to ease.

Jackson was, however, still in the Valley, and his army, through the aid of partisan rangers, continued to menace Romney and other near-by points. For instance, on November 9, Colonel Imboden, in command of the "First Virginia Partisan Rangers," while falling short of his objective, the destruction of Cheat River Bridge, attacked Saint George, Tucker County, where he captured the commanding officer, Captain William Hall of Company F, Sixth (West) Virginia, and a quantity of supplies but did not, as stated by Maxwell and Swisher, capture Romney on this expedition.[68]

With Confederates both to the east and the west, they may at this time have been in Romney for short periods

[64] *O. R.*, I, Vol, XIX, pt. two, pp. 456, 458.
[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 501, 685-686.
[66] *O. R.* I, Vol. XIX, pt. one, p. 85; Summers, *B & O*, p. 121.
[67] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XIX, pt. one, pp. 86-88.

and in small numbers, but this is unlikely, as General Kelley then had, according to Imboden, a large cavalry force" in Hampshire and Hardy counties.[69] Otherwise Imboden would have returned from his proposed attack upon Cheat River Bridge by way of Romney. The fact that Major General Jacob D. Cox was, on November 8-9, able to move from New Creek and, in Imboden's absence, to attack his camp on South Fork about eighteen miles south of Moorefield and take 50 prisoners, a quantity of arms, 358 fat hogs, and a large number of horses, cattle, and wagons,[70] indicates also that Federals were then in rather complete control of the intervening territory.

Although the *Official Records* say that a skirmish took place in Romney on December 1, 1862, the particulars are not given. Such an engagement seems improbable, however, because a detached force from the Ringgold cavalry and the First Virginia infantry (Federal) on December 3, attacked two companies of Stuart's cavalry at Moorefield and captured a number of men including their commander, Captain Edward H. McDonald.[71] In reporting this skirmish Kelley indicated "the necessity of keeping a force on the railroad and in the valley of the South Branch . . . sufficient to protect the road and the loyal people, and to repel Imboden and any force that may come down the valley from the Warm Springs, or across from the Shenandoah Valley."[72] Despite this recommendation, Imboden reported that "the Federal forces in Northwestern Virginia have retired toward New Creek, leaving a guard of only 200 at Beverly." According to Imboden there were then no Federals in Moorefield or in the

[69] *Hampshire County*, p. 551. See also, *O. R.*, I, Vol. XIX, pt. two, pp. 156-158. Of this incident Sarah Jane Maxwell, a resident of Tucker County, wrote a friend: "I suppose you heard of the Rebel Imboden surprising and capturing all our Yankees. Last Sunday week at daylight 400 secest cavalry surrounded Hall's men at the Court House and they surrendered with nobody hurt. . . . There were somewhere in 30 Yankees paroled. . . . Imboden asked them to give up their overcoats as they had lost theirs when Kelley burned their camp and they could get none but those they captured. The Yankees were well pleased with their treatment. Said Imboden was a gentleman. Some of Hall's men and some of Imboden's were neighbour boys and they were delighted to meet each other in friendship." Maxwell, Swisher, and Bonnifield, "Letters and Papers" in Division of Documents of West Virginia University.

[69] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XIX, pt. two, pp. 156-158.

[70] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XIX, pt. two, pp. 156, 573.

[71] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXI, p. 829.

[72] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXI, p. 829.

South Branch Valley and there was only one company each at Springfield, Paw Paw, and the mouth of the Little Cacapon.[73]

Whether significant or not, Romney was not mentioned in Imboden's available reports to Lee. That it was then being threatened by Confederates is indicated, however, in a suggestion from General Halleck to General Kelley, which stated that "Forces should be placed at Romney and along the South Branch of the Potomac, against guerilla raids" and asked the number of men needed for that purpose.[74] In reply Kelley sent a copy of his letter of October, 1861, to General McClellan, in which he had emphasized the importance of holding Romney. On the same day (December 9, 1862) Kelley indicated that Moorefield and Franklin were being occupied by Federals and that his cavalry was in Romney every day. Moreover, following Halleck's suggestion, Kelley indicated his intention to occupy it permanently.[75] The fact that it had not been thus occupied may explain the many alleged occupations and reoccupations, as troops, mostly Federal, came and went from day to day. Such practices also left the town open to short visits by Confederates who understood the situation.

In addition to protecting the Railroad the proposed permanent occupation of Romney was a part of General Halleck's plan to use all available troops in western Virginia to threaten the Shenandoah Valley and cover Harpers Ferry in a proposed aggressive movement.[76] This was made possible by the continued withdrawal of Confederates following Sharpsburg and their final abandonment of Winchester in the following December. In the efforts of the Federals to occupy this strategic center Romney was a base of operations. For instance, Captain Keys of the Ringgold cavalry, left there on December 22, for Winchester.[77] One week later Brigadier General Robert H.

[73] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXI, p. 1049.
[74] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXI, p. 843.
[75] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXI, pp. 843-844.
[76] *O. R.*, I. Vol. XXI, p. 843.
[77] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXI, p. 701, 875.

Milroy, in command of a considerable force, passed through on his way to take command of Federal forces in Winchester,[78] where he remained until driven out by Lee's second invasion of the North. Meanwhile Colonel James Washburn had on January 8, 1863, been ordered by General Kelley, whose headquarters were then Harpers Ferry, to fall back to Romney with his entire force,[79] thus effecting the promised permanent occupation of that town. On February 20, Washburn was stationed there in command of a force of 1,445 men, including "one detached company of cavalry, 60 strong."[80] Three weeks previously the occupying force had included also the Ringgold cavalry battalion, commanded by Captain Keys."[81]

These Federal activities did not escape the attention of General Lee who set out at once to destroy their effectiveness. To that end Brigadier General William E. Jones, in the absence of Stonewall Jackson, was on December 9, 1862, assigned to command the Valley District and requested to take all necessary measures for its defense. At this time General Lee was determined that, if possible, the enemy "must not be allowed to remain on the South Branch." He hoped also to drive him across the Potomac. With the aid of troops under Colonel Imboden and Colonel Henry B. Davidson, Lee thought this could be accomplished and that a successful attack could be made upon the Railroad.[82] To make success more certain Lee at this time suggested to Major General Samuel (Sam) Jones, then operating in the region of New River Narrows, that he detach to Colonel Davidson at Staunton all available troops.[83]

In pursuit of these objectives General William E. Jones on January 3, 1863, made a fruitless expedition to Moorefield. Although this effort netted one man killed, 99

[78] Maxwell and Swisher, *Hampshire County*, p. 551; *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXI, pp. 947-949, 978-979.
[79] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXI, pp. 959, 968.
[80] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXV, pt. two, p. 92.
[81] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXV, pt. two, p. 35.
[82] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXI, pp. 1080-1081.
[83] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXI, pp. 1081-1082.

captured, and a number of horses, "it gave rise to a good deal of criticism upon the General's efficiency and fighting propensities."[84] Captain McNeil, in command of a part of Imboden's cavalry, was, however, more successful in his mission to guard the western approaches to Moorefield. For that purpose he attacked a Federal wagon train and captured 33 men, 44 horses, and five wagons. For his success in this skirmish McNeil received the thanks of General Jones who praised his "indefatigable and resolute scouts."[85]

By such persistence the Confederates had by February 20, 1863, occupied Moorefield, where they were then erroneously reported to have 2,000 infantry and 400 cavalry.[86] Moreover, a scouting party of 33 Confederates commanded by Captains McNeil and George W. Stump had attacked an enemy supply train on the Northwestern Turnpike about five miles west of Romney and taken 72 prisoners, 106 horses, and a quantity of supplies.[87] It was because of such threats to Romney and the Railroad that Kelley refused to withdraw Colonel Washburn from the former, as requested by Milroy.[88]

Although Romney and Winchester remained in possession of Federals, the weakness in their defense, as revealed by Imboden and McNeil, tended to confirm General Lee in his conviction that the enemy could be driven out of the South Branch Valley and that the Railroad could be dealt a destructive blow.[89] Both Brigadier General Imboden and Captain McNeil shared this opinion and were eager to make it a reality. To that end Imboden, in a letter dated March 2, 1863, laid the matter before General Lee and sent him a plan of operation. The latter contemplated destruction of the Railroad from Oakland to Grafton; defeat and capture of the enemy forces at Beverly, Philippi, and Buckhannon; recruiting men for

[84] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXI, pp. 747-748, 1114; Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, Vol. II, p. 41; William L. Wilson, "Diary" for January 12, 1863.
[85] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXI, pp. 747-748.
[86] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXV, pt. two, p. 84.
[87] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXV, pt. two, pp. 642, 649.
[88] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXV, pt. two, pp. 84-85.
[89] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXI, pp. 1080-1081.

the Confederate service; and overthrow of the Reorganized Government of Virginia, of which Imboden said "four-fifths of the people are heartily tired."

To effect these objectives Imboden proposed that General William E. Jones, who, since the Confederates abandoned Winchester on December 4, 1862, had, as Jackson's choice, been in command of the Valley District,[90] should at the proper time make a "real or feigned" demonstration against Romney, New Creek, and Cumberland. At the same time he proposed to send 500 well-mounted men from Moorefield to Oakland by a "forced night march" to destroy the railroad bridge at the latter point. They would then proceed to Cheat River Bridge and destroy it.

While this was being done Imboden himself, with a force of about 2,000, would move against Beverly so as to cut off the possibility of Federal reinforcement from that quarter and assure the success of his chief objective, the destruction of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. He would then collect all his cavalry either at Weston or Buckhannon and destroy the Northwestern Virginia Railroad.[91]

About the same time Captain McNeil, indicating that he acted with Imboden's knowledge, appealed to the Confederate Secretary of War for permission to conduct a raid for the purpose of destroying the Cheat River Bridge.[92] The request was approved by the Secretary who referred it to Major General Sam Jones, commander of the Department of Southwestern Virginia, with authority to act.[93] As Jones himself had for some time contemplated the proposed expedition, he readily approved it and on March 8, suggested to Imboden that he aid McNeil by a diversionary movement against Beverly.[94] General Lee had also approved the proposed expedition but with the understanding that it was to be led by Brigadier General Imboden and for the additional purpose of "driving out horses, cat-

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[90] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXI, pp. 34, 1040, 1054, 1079, 1092.
[91] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXV, pt. two, pp. 652-653.
[92] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXV, pt. two, p. 656.
[93] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXV, pt. two, pp. 656-661.
[94] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXV, pt. two, pp. 559-560.

tle, etc., . . . and give relief to others now suffering under oppression and robbery."[95]

The resulting misapprehensions were heightened, if indeed they were not caused, by dissatisfaction with Brigadier General William E. Jones, commander of the Seventh Virginia cavalry and the Valley District. His removal from the latter had been requested by the Confederate Secretary of War and was being delayed by General Lee who had confidence in Jones based upon General Jackson's belief in him. But Jones had never been popular with his men, and, after his appointment to command the Valley District, he continued to lose favor with the Seventh Virginia which, with Turner Ashby as its idol, insisted upon effective action.[96] These facts may perhaps explain both Imboden's and McNeil's seeming insubordination. However that may be, Major General Sam Jones, in command of all the parties concerned, said, "Surely there cannot be in contemplation two expeditions, starting from and for the same points, and about the same time, under separate and independent commanders."[97]

As General Lee was then contemplating another invasion of the North, the proposed attack upon the Baltimore and Ohio and the possibility of getting beef cattle and riding horses had an important bearing upon his plan of operations. On March 26, 1863, he was convinced that "No period had occurred since the commencement of the war so favorable . . . for dealing a blow against the enemy's possession of the northwest as now."[98] At that time Lee planned for Brigadier General William E. Jones to act in conformity with Imboden's suggestions by threatening the enemy at Romney, New Creek, and Cumberland, while Imboden himself directed the main attack.[99] Accordingly, Lee directed Imboden to get his expedition in motion as soon as

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[95] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXV pt. two, pp. 661, 685, 710-711.
[96] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXI, pp. 654, 1080, 1092; *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXV, pt. two, pp. 604, 641, 646-647; Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, Vol. II, pp. 409-412. In the spirited action at Orange Court House, August 2, 1862, Jones by unexpected aggressiveness was able to win the respect and admiration of his men. Blue "Experiences."
[97] *O. R.* I, Vol. XXV, pt. two, pp. 676-677.
[98] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXV, pt. two, p. 684.
[99] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXV, pt. two, pp. 684-685.

the roads and the mountain streams would permit.[100]

For reasons not fully disclosed in the records both Imboden's and McNeil's plans were changed. Instead, it was decided to attack simultaneously at two points, which General Lee thought would "certainly increase the possibilities of success."[101] Moreover, the expedition was to be led by two commanders, Jones and Imboden, each acting independently but cooperatively.[102] This arrangement made it possible to recognize the ranking position of General Jones and to utilize Imboden's proven initiative and resourcefulness. Differences of opinion regarding the arrangement were indicated by General Lee's statement that he had "assented to the part to be performed by General William E. Jones."[103] That part of the expedition directed primarily at Oakland and the Cheat River Bridge was accordingly entrusted to him instead of to Captain McNeil, whereas Imboden was to strike simultaneously at or near Grafton and by way of Beverly.[104]

Both Jones and Imboden failed to achieve their chief objectives but they were responsible for considerable damage to the railroads and for the loss of personal property, especially horses and cattle, throughout a large area extending from Oakland, Maryland, to near Parkersburg, West Virginia.[105] Additional details are, however, not pertinent here. For present purposes it will suffice to say that the Jones command was composed largely of partisan rangers and regulars from Hampshire and Hardy counties.[106]

Captain McNeil and his rangers accompanied Jones.[107] Even before the expedition started, but in support of it, McNeil, on April 6, attacked a foraging party of Ringgold's near Burlington and captured Lieutenant William F. Speer, together with eleven of his command and five teams of horses. The next day McNeil was attacked near

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[100] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXV, pt. two, p. 685.
[101] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXV, pt. two, p. 710.
[102] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXV, pt. one, p. 115.
[103] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXV, pt. two, p. 711.
[104] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXV, pt. two, pp. 710-712; Vol. XXV, pt. one, pp. 98-105, 115-121.
[105] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXV, pt. one, pp. 98-105, 115-121.
[106] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXV, pt. one, pp. 115-121.
[107] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXV, pt. one, p. 105; *Ibid.*, I, Vol. XXV, pt. two, p. 117.

Purgitstown and forced to retire toward Moorefield,[108] which would indicate that Romney was at that time in possession of Federals.

So far as the records disclose Romney remained in their possession until shortly after the Confederates re-entered the Shenandoah Valley on their second invasion of the North by General Lee. With Lieutenant General Richard S. Ewell in command of Jackson's old division, they recaptured Winchester on June 15, 1863, and a large part of General Milroy's command.[109] Meanwhile, Imboden, in compliance with a request of General Lee dated June 7, 1863, had moved against Romney in an effort "to attract the enemy's attention in Hampshire County."[110] That Imboden was successful in this mission is indicated in a congratulatory message from General Lee, dated June 23, in which he expressed "great satisfaction at the thorough manner in which you have destroyed the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad between Cumberland and the Little Cacapon."[111]

Romney had perhaps been occupied meanwhile by Confederates, for on June 15, General Kelley was ordered to concentrate his troops at New Creek.[112] A Federal communication dated June 13, implies that Romney was then being abandoned,[113] and Maxwell and Swisher say that Imboden was there on June 16, on his way to Gettysburg.[114] It is possible also that Romney was occupied earlier in June by Confederates under Captain McNeil, for on June 10, General Lee expressed his pleasure because of the promptness with which Imboden, McNeil's commanding officer, had moved toward the Potomac.[115] Moreover, there are local traditions to the effect that McNeil was in Romney at that time.[116]

While the Federals concentrated at New Creek under

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108 *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXV, pt. one, pp. 81-82.
109 *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXVII, pt. two, pp. 440-442.
110 *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXVII, pt. three, p. 865; Blue, "Experiences."
111 *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXVII, pt. three, p. 924.
112 *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXVII, pt. three, pp. 124, 128.
113 *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXVII, pt. three, p. 96.
114 *Hampshire County*, p. 551.
115 *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXVI. pt. three, p. 878.
116 Maxwell and Swisher, *Hampshire County*, p. 551.

the "very reliable" General Kelley,[117] watching the Confederate movements in the South Branch Valley, and with Imboden watching the Railroad and collecting cattle and other supplies in the same territory, it is probable, as stated by Maxwell and Swisher, that Romney was occupied and reoccupied several times in the latter part of June, 1863, and that too despite the fact that such occupations cannot be verified from the *Official Records*. These claims are to the effect that a Federal company was in Romney on June 17; that it was on the following day in possession of a part of Imboden's brigade on its way to Gettysburg; that soon thereafter Federals recaptured it; that Captain George F. Sheetz, who had been dead since May 23, 1862, was in possession on June 28, 1863; and that it was occupied on the same day by Lieutenant George D. Summers, Federal,[118] who according to the *Official Records*, was then active about Harpers Ferry.[119]

Although some of these alleged occupations were evidently impossible, others could and perhaps did occur because of the favorable conditions. Whatever the facts in this matter may be, General Kelley, on June 24, 1863, indicated that "Scouts from Romney report no signs of the enemy"[120] which indicates that the town might have been visited at this time by either Confederates or Federals.

Following their defeat at Gettysburg the Confederates retired slowly and cautiously and were, therefore, in command of the situation in the South Branch Valley for some time, but within two months Federals were occupying it in large numbers. Only four days after the battle Imboden reported to General Lee that the enemy was advancing from Hancock, Maryland, to join the main Federal army. But Lee discounted the report, for he could not believe that a small body of infantry would attempt to force a way through his army.[121] He concluded, therefore, that the Federal force at Hancock was only "some cavalry." But,

[117] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXVII, pt. three, pp. 50-51.
[118] Maxwell and Swisher, *Hampshire County*, pp. 551, 594.
[119] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXVII, pt. three, pp. 203, 294.
[120] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXVII, pt. three, p. 299.
[121] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXVII, pt. three, p. 988; Blue, "Experiences."

in the absence of Imboden, who was escorting prisoners to Staunton, Lee ordered his brother, Colonel George W. Imboden, to investigate the report regarding the enemy's advance.[122]

This report was better founded than Lee suspected, for on July 5, Kelley asked whether he should at once concentrate his force of about 4,500 men at Hancock or await, at New Creek and Cumberland, the arrival of Brigadier General Averell's cavalry.[123] On July 6, he ordered Averell to move as rapidly as he could and erroneously reported Lee "in full retreat."[124] On July 10, Kelley reached Indian Springs, Maryland, and for a time planned to cross North Mountain and annoy the retreating Confederates.[125] Instead, he fell back to Cherry Run, to which point he had by July 16, relaid the railroad track.

The resulting situation was such that Lee ordered Imboden to hasten back from Staunton to operate against his "old enemy"[126] who had concentrated his force at Cherry Run instead of at Hancock.[127] As a consequence General Lee thought "a fine opportunity has arisen to damage the Railroad and destroy its shops at Piedmont." On July 21, he accordingly placed Imboden in command of the Valley District and expressed the hope that he would make the most of his opportunities.[128] On the following day Confederate scouts were reported moving in the direction of Romney.[129]

Attempted execution of Imboden's objectives on a large scale brought the South Branch Valley and Romney again into the picture, but they had doubtless been visited meanwhile by each of the continuing forces, especially the Confederates, as claimed by Maxwell and Swisher.[130] On July 30, General Kelley reported that General Imboden

[122] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXVII, pt. three, pp. 987-988.
[123] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXVII, pt. three, p. 550.
[124] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXVII, pt. three, p. 575.
[125] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXVII, pt. three, pp. 652, 708.
[126] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXVII, pt. three, pp. 1011, 1031.
[127] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXVII, pt. three, p. 1032.
[128] *Ibid.*
[129] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXVII, pt. three, p. 750.
[130] In their *Hampshire County* they say that Romney was occupied by Confederates on July 12, 1863. Page 551.

had gone "into the Valley of the South Branch" and asked permission to move back by way of Romney to his old command at New Creek.[131] The following day and the next he repeated his intention to return, and keep the Railroad open west of Hancock and drive the enemy out of the South Branch Valley.[132]

In pursuit of these objectives Kelley on August 1 left Hedgesville, where he had maintained headquarters for some time, and marched to New Creek by way of Romney which his cavalry occupied about August 7.[133] With like purpose but with an eye upon operations in the region of Lewisburg, Averell, under Kelley's direction, left Winchester on August 5, and the next day occupied Moorefield.[134] Thus Kelley had made good, temporarily at least, his resolve to drive the Confederates from the South Branch Valley.

Although all eyes were, after Gettysburg, turned toward the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, the Baltimore and Ohio was not neglected by Confederates. Anticipating Kelley's return, Captain McNeil on August 4, made a successful demonstration in the region of New Creek.[135] One month later the Twenty-third Illinois volunteers, marching to reinforce Major Edward W. Stephens, were attacked in Petersburg Gap and forced to fall back,[136] and one week later (September 11) Captains McNeil, Imboden, and McNarey Hobson surprised Major Stephens near Moorefield, where they captured 146 prisoners and a large quantity of munitions and supplies.[137]

As a consequence of these successes Imboden was "so well convinced of this mode of warfare on the border" that he on September 15, sent out two other bands of scouts:

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[131] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXVII, pt. three, p. 786.
[132] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXVII, pt. three, pp. 794, 826.
[133] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXIX, pt. two, pp. 17, 632.
[134] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXIX, pt. one, p. 33.
[135] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXIX, pt. two, p. 632. This was perhaps the action mentioned, without detail, in the *Official Records* under date of August 4, as the "Skirmish at Burlington." I, Vol. XXIX, pt. one, p. 1.
[136] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXIX, pt. one, p. 102.
[137] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXIX, pt. one, pp. 106-107; *Conf. Mil. Hist.*, Vol. II, pt. two, p. 120; Blue, "Experiences." It was in this surprise that McNeil effected the escape of Lieutenant John Blue who shortly before had been captured in the residence of Angus Wood in Lost River Valley. *Ibid.*

One under Major David B. Lang on foot to penetrate the country north of Beverly and harrass the enemy in Barbour and Randolph counties, and the other under Captain Absalom H. Nelson to go into Pendleton County and try to "clear out Snyder's gang of Union robbers and murderers, known as Swamp Dragons."[138] Imboden's course in this matter brought from General Lee the following comment on partisan warfare: "Much inconvenience has already been experienced from these organizations, and I am satisfied that they do not accomplish as much as the same number of men in the regular service."[139] He accordingly advised that McNeil's company be increased to a battalion or a regiment for regular service and refused to authorize an increase in the number of partisan units or to augment existing ones.[140]

Notwithstanding Lee's opinions and refusals, Imboden, on October 1, 1863, sent Lieutenant Colonel D. Edward Beall, "a brave and energetic officer" residing in Hampshire County, into that unit in an attempt to break the Railroad. But Imboden at this time had little hope that "any considerable damage" could be done, for the bridges were then strongly guarded and there was a considerable Federal force in Romney, Martinsburg, and Petersburg.[141] He promised, however, to report the results to General Lee. In the absence of available records, it is presumed that there was nothing to report.

As commander of the Valley District Imboden next turned his attention to the Lower Shenandoah in an indirect effort to aid Confederate movements about Bristoe Station.[142] For that purpose he on October 18, marched against Charles Town, Jefferson County, where he captured the whole Ninth Maryland regiment aggregating 2,436 men, together with their supplies and large quantities of munitions.[143] Because of the presence of Federals in Martins-

[138] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXIX, pt. one, pp. 107, 197; Oren F. Morton, *History of Pendleton County, West Virginia*, p. 403.
[139] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXIX, pt. two, p. 755.
[140] *Ibid.*
[141] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXIX, pt. one, p. 197.
[142] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXIX, pt. one. p. 411.
[143] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXIX, pt. one, pp. 209-221, 491.

burg and Harpers Ferry, he did not tarry long in Charles Town, but he was greatly encouraged with the results of his expedition.[144] As a consequence Imboden was convinced that he could, with the aid of a division of cavalry for a few days, "break up all the posts of the enemy from Harpers Ferry to New Creek, and again destroy the railroad and canal."[145]

Because Federals were then directing their chief attention to the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, there was a large element of truth in Imboden's suggestion. Accordingly, as in 1862, when Stonewall Jackson insisted upon using Romney as a base of operations for a blitzkreig against the Baltimore and Ohio and the Trans-Allegheny, General Lee approved the measures to that end. He also advised General Imboden to break up the Federal positions in Romney and Petersburg and drive the enemy from Hardy and Hampshire counties. More significant still perhaps, he at the same time expressed the hope that General Sam Jones would move into east Tennessee and occupy Knoxville, as the best means of securing the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad by attracting "the attention of the enemy in Northwest Virginia." Should he not be able to do this, Lee advised Jones to combine his force with Imboden's and move upon the Baltimore and Ohio as planned.[146] The only thing that kept Lee from reinforcing Imboden from his own troops at this time was their inadequacy and the threatening movements of the enemy in the direction of the Rappahannock River.[147]

In the absence of reinforcements and in keeping with General Lee's recommendation not to attack either Romney or Petersburg so long as they were strongly held, Imboden now directed his chief effort to keeping reinforcements and supplies from reaching Averell who, from his base at Beverly, was then aiding movements against the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad. To that end Captain

[144] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXIX, pt. one, p. 411.
[145] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXIX, pt. one, p. 491.
[146] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXIX, pt. one, pp. 814-816.
[147] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXIX, pt. one, pp. 814-815.

McNeil, in command of 170 cavalry, on November 16, fell upon a Federal supply train of 80 wagons near Burlington and took 25 prisoners and 255 horses.[148] Although pursued by 600 of Averell's best cavalry, McNeil escaped with casualties of one dead and five wounded. General Kelley described the "affair" as unfortunate and promised to investigate the conduct of the officer in charge by court-martial,[149] whereas General Lee was "much gratified,[150] Incidentally, a Federal force commanded by Lieutenant Colonel John P. Linton at this time passed and repassed through Romney to near-by Springfield.[151]

Despite efforts to intercept his supplies Averell made three raids, each ordered and planned by General Kelley, with the primary purpose of destroying the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad. The first of these began on August 5, 1863, simultaneously with Kelley's return to New Creek. It reached Rocky Gap near White Sulphur Springs, where it was on August 27, turned back as the result of a two-day engagement with Confederates commanded by Colonel George S. Patton who reported 200 of the enemy killed and wounded and 100 prisoners taken. On August 31, Averell returned to his base at Beverly.[152]

The second Averell Raid, covering the period November 1-17, reached Droop Mountain, where on November 6, 1863, he was defeated by a force commanded by Brigadier General John Echols and forced to return to New Creek by way of the South Branch Valley. Under directions from Imboden, Captain McNeil harassed him the entire distance in Hardy and Hampshire counties.[153]

The third, or Great Salem, raid was more successful. With well-protected flanks Averell left New Creek on December 8, 1863, and returned to Beverly on Christmas Day. Meanwhile he had on December 16, destroyed about fifteen miles of track and a number of bridges and cul-

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[148] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXIX, pt. one, pp. 645-651; *Conf. Mil. Hist.*, Vol. II, pt. two, p. 120.
[149] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXIV, pt. one, p. 645.
[150] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXIX, pt. two, p. 846.
[151] *O. R.*, I Vol. XXIX, pt. one, pp. 644, 647.
[152] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXIX, pt. one, pp. 32-38, 532-534.
[153] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXIX, pt. one, pp. 504-508, 528-532.

verts near present Salem, Virginia, and had taken a quantity of supplies. In addition thereto he took 200 prisoners and 150 horses with a loss to himself of six men drowned, five wounded and 94 missing, including four officers.[154]

Although heralded far and wide by Federals, the "Great Salem Raid" proved a boomerang, for on December 15, Major General Jubal A. Early was placed in command of the Valley District with such able subordinates as Fitzhugh Lee, Harry W. Gilmor, John D. Imboden, Thomas L. Rosser, and Captain McNeil.[155] In addition to getting all of the supplies, especially horses and cattle possible, they were instructed to prevent supplies reaching Averell and to destroy the Railroad.[156]

In pursuit of these objectives "Fitz" Lee, on December 31, left Mount Jackson for Moorefield which he reached the following day. There he learned that eight or nine hundred men were entrenched at near-by Petersburg. As his ammunition was wet and he had no artillery, Lee decided not to attack the Federals but instead to move against their lines of communication toward New Creek. This movement was carried out successfully and netted 40 wagons and 250 cattle. Then Lee took Burlington and continued his march to within six miles of the Railroad, but he was unable to reach it because of the inclement weather and the unshod condition of his cavalry. Returning on January 5, 1864, he passed through Romney which Major Gilmor and Captain McNeil, protecting Lee's flank and pursuing Federals retreating from Petersburg, had occupied a day or two before.[157] Following their departure, Captain Henry A. Myers, Federal, occupied it on January 8, and reported no enemy near him.[158]

Because of the inclement weather Confederates postponed temporarily operations in the South Branch Valley, but they were resumed on January 28, 1864, with Major General Early in personal command. Leaving Imboden

[154] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXIX, pt. one, pp. 920, 924-932, 943-945.
[155] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXIX, pt. two, p. 6.
[156] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXIX, pt. one, p. 970.
[157] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 7-8.
[158] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, p. 7.

and Lieutenant Colonel Henry H. Walker at New Market on picket duty, Early, accompanied by Rosser, Gilmor, and McNeil, was in Moorefield the following day. The next morning, January 30, Early sent Rosser to intercept a wagon train reported to be carrying supplies from New Creek to Petersburg.[159] In pursuit of this order Rosser surprised a train, escorted by Colonel Joseph Snider, and, following a spirited engagement in which the teamsters fled to the mountains, he captured 95 loaded wagons. He them moved to Petersburg which Early had planned to surprise and capture, but Colonel Joseph Thoburn, in command of the garrison there, had learned of the plan and retired to New Creek by way of Greenland Gap.[160]

With a view to "driving out the cattle" and destroying the Railroad, Rosser, with Major Gilmor and Captain McNeil searching the mountains, on February 1, re-entered Patterson Creek Valley. To prevent Averell, then located in the region of Harpers Ferry, from sending reinforcements to Kelley and getting between Rosser and Early, Rosser stationed a regiment in Mechanicsburg Gap,[161] a detachment of which, on January 3, entered Romney.[162] With these precautions Rosser then continued to the mouth of the Creek, where his force, dressed in Federal uniforms and representing themselves to be a part of the Ringgold cavalry, on February 2, destroyed three railroad bridges and damaged the Canal. As General Early had failed to send a force to Romney, as requested by Rosser and as Federals were reported to be assembling there in considerable numbers, Rosser abandoned his plan to continue to Cumberland and returned to Moorefield.[163]

Commanding the eastern approach to Mechanicsburg Gap, Romney figured prominently in these movements. As indicated by Kelley, Rosser, and Early, it was occupied by Confederates on January 31. To dislodge them and protect the Railroad Kelly ordered troops, then on the

[159] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 43-46.
[160] *O. R.*, I Vol XXXIII, pp. 40-41, 43-46.
[161] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, p. 46.
[162] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 455, 1134, 1136.
[163] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 31, 43, 46, 1134, 1142.

point of moving from Charles Town to Wardensville, to hasten to Romney. In response thereto Lieutenant Colonel Charles Fitz Simmons of the Third New York cavalry, marched with "commendable promptness."[164] As he, on February 1, entered the town Lieutenant Jesse F. Wyckoff of the First New York cavalry, dashed forward and captured Lieutenant John C. Allen and two privates of the Seventh Virginia cavalry. In a spirited skirmish resulting in casualties on each side, Wyckoff then drove Confederates from Mechanicsburg Gap, while Fitz Simmons, decoyed by false reports, moved to Springfield.[165]

Lieutenant Colonel Francis W. Thompson, who had reached Romney from Wardensville by way of Winchester, had meanwhile moved westward over the Northwestern Turnpike to reinforce Colonel Thoburn moving on Moorefield. When Fitz Simmons returned to Romney, he too moved westward over the Northwestern Turnpike but, after coming up with Thompson, he again returned to Romney and on February 3, took the "Old Road" to Moorefield, where he joined in pursuit of the retiring Confederates.[166]

Thus, Federals were in and out of Romney once or twice daily from February 1 to February 3, 1864, inclusive. But a telegram from General Kelley to Brigadier General Sullivan at Harpers Ferry to the effect that 500 enemy cavalry were in Romney on February 2, is obviously erroneous.[167] But it indicates something of the confusion and uncertainty with respect to that coveted point.

Alleging that all possible had been accomplished, Early on February 4, left Moorefield and returned to New Market.[168] As Federals were then closing in upon him in superior numbers, his reasoning was doubtless well founded. In compliance with General Lee's request that he collect all the cattle possible, which was the chief purpose of his expedition, Early doubtless took pleasure in reporting that he had taken 1200 head and 500 sheep. He

[164] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 31-32, 33-35.
[165] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 41-42.
[166] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 33-35.
[167] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, p. 497.
[168] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, p. 44.

reported also 78 prisoners.[169] Rosser, who bore the brunt of the fighting, had taken 40 prisoners, among them being three captains and one major, Nathan Goff, Jr., of the Fourth West Virginia cavalry.[170] General Lee commended Early on the skill and boldness with which the expedition was conducted.[171]

While the Confederates were retiring to New Market, General Kelley, basing his information upon prisoner contacts, reported that Rosser planned to follow the Northwestern Turnpike to Winchester and there join Imboden moving down the Shenandoah Valley to attack Martinsburg.[172] But, as previously indicated herein, Rosser had already joined Early and was retiring with him from Moorefield. Contrary to Kelley's expectations, the Confederates were comparatively inactive in the Hampshire-Hardy sector for about three months thereafter. Except their successful attack upon the supply train of Lieutenant Colonel Augustus I. Root of the Fifteenth New York cavalry, which, on March 3, had destroyed Confederate Saltpetre Works near Petersburg.[173] the period and the area were in fact more barren of activity on the part of Confederates than at any other in the war.

The usual scouting excursions were made, but they too were on a small scale, with Federals taking the initiative. On February 19, a detachment of the Fifty-fourth Pennsylvania and the Twelfth Virginia cavalries brought into Kelley's camp at Cumberland Captain Isaac Kuykendall and Lieutenant W. V. Innskeep of the Seventh Virginia cavalry, each of whom had been captured near his home in Hampshire County.[174] From time to time "rebel cavalry" was erroneously reported as being here and there.[175]

This inactivity was occasioned in part by the desire of Confederates to comprehend more fully the situation inci-

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[169] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 44, 1166.
[170] *O. R.*, I. Vol. XXXIII, pp. 44, 46. Goff's horse was shot from under him and fell upon him in such a position that he could not extricate himself. *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII. p. 41.
[171] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, p. 1159.
[172] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 504, 508.
[173] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII. pp. 228, 230.
[174] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, p. 574.
[175] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 591, 709.

dent to changes in Federal commanders and plans. By an act of Congress approved February 29, 1864, Lieutenant General U. S. Grant was ten days later assigned to "the command of the Armies of the United States."[176] On the same day Major General Franz Sigel took command of the Department of West Virginia with headquarters at Cumberland.[177] There was thus little doubt of the intention of the Federals to move upon Richmond direct from Washington, but there was much uncertainty as to whether the main supporting movement would be by the Shenandoah or by the New River Valley.

This uncertainty was perhaps best reflected in the current conjectures regarding the plans and the whereabouts of Brigadier General Averell. On February 26, Imboden did not believe that Averell would go to Petersburg.[178] On March 10, he was expecting him to make "a big raid" of 5,000 to 6,000 in the Valley District.[179] More than a month later Imboden reported formidable military preparations at New Creek, Cumberland, and Martinsburg and "another raid brewing."[180] Meanwhile General Sigel, in keeping with Grant's plans and preparations, was directing his chief efforts to a flanking move under General George Crook in process of making by way of New River, and had recommended that Averell be detached to serve as Crook's chief cavalry officer.[181]

The situation was complicated also by dissension among ranking Confederate officers in the Valley District. It will be recalled that General Early had left Imboden on picket duty at New Market, while he and Rosser made their cattle hunting expedition into Hardy and Hampshire counties. Whether significant or not, Early, five days after his return to New Market, asked for a fifteen to twenty day leave, his first since June, 1862.[182] The same day Imboden, in a letter to Colonel Robert H. Chilton, Chief of

[176] *O. R.*, I. Vol. XXXIII, pp. 663, 669.
[177] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, p. 664.
[178] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, p. 1199.
[179] *O. R.*, I. Vol. XXXIII, p. 1215.
[180] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, p. 1291.
[181] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 901, 936, 964. 986.
[182] *O. R.*, I. Vol. XXXIII, p. 1166.

the Confederate Staff, resented the sneers and uncomplimentary remarks which he alleged Early had made regarding him and asked that a court of inquiry be ordered to investigate and report upon his official conduct.[183]

While indicating that his remarks about Imboden had been "very greatly exaggerated," Early, in the interest of discipline,[184] welcomed the inquiry, but General Lee dismissed the matter with the trite statement, "General Imboden has been informed by letter today that I do not think a court of inquiry advantageous."[185] Three days later Lee granted Early's request for a leave,[186] and for some time thereafter Lee's correspondence regarding matters in the Valley District was almost entirely with Imboden.

"After having made all arrangements for Crook's command," Sigel left Cumberland on April 25, 1864, for Martinsburg, where he had six regiments of infantry and about 1,200 cavalry.[187] Five days later he was at Bunker Hill waiting for a part of his force to come up from Romney preparatory to moving to Winchester.[188] Although the plan of the Federals to concentrate troops on the Rappahannock for a movement upon Richmond had for some time been evident to General Lee,[189] Imboden continued to insist that they were bent upon moving from New Creek by way of Burlington and Moorefield. As Imboden saw it, he was thus "threatened from two directions, New Creek and Beverly, and possibly Martinsburg."[190]

As suspected by General Lee, General Grant, who was then crossing the Rapidan River, ordered Major General Sigel to advance by way of the Shenandoah Valley. Moving simultaneously with Crook's advance on the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, Sigel reached Winchester on May 1. Thinking that there were no hostile forces in the

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[183] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, p. 1167.
[184] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, p. 1168.
[185] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, p. 1168.
[186] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, p. 1174.
[187] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, p. 986.
[188] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, p. 1025.
[189] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII pp. 1272-1273.
[190] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, p. 1332.

Valley, except Imboden's cavalry and mounted artillery aggregating about 3,000 men, Sigel decided to advance toward Staunton in an effort to induce Major General John C. Breckenridge, who had displaced General Sam Jones as commander of the Western Department of Virginia, to send a part of his force against him and thus facilitate operations under Crook and Averell.[191] As expected, Breckenridge sent a detachment, but, as was not expected, it effected a junction with Imboden and on May 15, defeated the Federals in the battle of New Market.[192]

As seen by General Lee, Sigel's withdrawal from the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad left it almost undefended.[193] Taking advantage of this opening Captain McNeil, under Imboden's direction, left Moorefield on May 3, and at daybreak of May 5, was at Bloomington on the Railroad a short distance from Piedmont. He there captured a freight train and then moved on to Piedmont, where he burned several buildings filled with machinery, captured and destroyed railroad cars and engines, destroyed the railroad bridge, and captured a mail train and 104 prisoners.[194]

The records do not indicate that McNeil passed through Romney on this raid either going or coming. Confederates were, however, in Romney on May 10, 1864. On that day detachments of Imboden's cavalry surprised a force of 500 cavalry in Lost River Gap, Hardy County, under Colonel Jacob Higgins who had been sent to protect Sigel's right flank, but Imboden, coming to the relief of McNeil,[195] drove Higgins all the way to Cumberland. "On the plains of Romney" Higgins tried to rally his men, but the Confederates pushed him out of the town and occupied it for a day or two. They failed to reach the Railroad on this expedition, but they did succeed in destroying a Federal supply train and in effecting about 50

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[191] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXVIII, pt. one, pp. 446; *Battles and Leaders*, Vol. IV, p. 488.
[192] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 75-91, 478-480, 493, 737.
[193] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXIII, p. 1273.
[194] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXVII, pt. one, p. 69.
[195] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXVII. pt. one, pp. 711, 726; *Battles and Leaders*, Vol. IV, p. 481.

casualties. The chief advantage to them was in delaying Sigel's advance until such time as Breckenridge could join Imboden and defeat the Federals.[196]

Four days after the battle of New Market Major General Sigel was, by order of President Lincoln, removed from the command of the Department of West Virginia and Major General David Hunter was appointed to succeed him.[197] Hunter took over two days later and with his usual energy and dispatch at once reorganized his force. Among other changes Sigel was sent to Martinsburg to command reserves and to help guard the Railroad.[198] At the same time changes were made in Hunter's cavalry commanders.

Thus assured Hunter moved down the Shenandoah Valley. After defeating the Confederates at Piedmont near Staunton, where their ranking officer, Brigadier General William E. Jones, was killed, Hunter on the following day (June 6) effected a junction with Crook and Averell at Staunton.[199] After resting there for two or three days he pushed up the Valley which he scourged with wanton destruction of private and public property. He then crossed the Blue Ridge and, moving by or near the Peaks of Otter, laid siege to Lynchburg, where he was, on June 18, defeated by General Early and forced to retire to the mountains in the direction of Lewisburg.[200] For some days thereafter Hunter's whereabouts were unknown to his superiors and to the enemy as well. The first definite information on that subject came ten days later from Hunter himself at Loop Creek, near Gauley Bridge in present West Virginia.[201]

Like Sigel's operations in the Valley of Virginia, those of Hunter withdrew troops from the Baltimore and Ohio, while they at the same time either pushed the Confederates

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[196] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXVII, pt. one, pp. 70, 427-428; *Battles and Leaders*, Vol. IV, pp. 480-481.
[197] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXVII, pt. one, pp. 492, 508.
[198] *O. R.*, I. Vol. XXXVII, pt. one, p. 517.
[199] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXVII, pt. one, p. 606; *Battles and Leaders*, Vol. IV, pp 485-486.
[200] *Battles and Leaders*, Vol. IV, pp. 486, 492-493.
[201] *O. R.*, I. Vol. XXXVII, pt. one, pp. 650-651, 652-653, 657, 660, 671, 673, 674, 677, 683-684, 766-767.

before them or engaged them in flanking and scouting operations. As a consequence, their activities in the South Branch Valley were largely taken over by partisan rangers, directed by Captain McNeil. It was at this time that General Kelley more than once indicated his purpose either to drive McNeil and his companion officer, Captain William H. Harness, out of the country about Moorefield and Petersburg or to capture or kill them,[202] but they insisted upon remaining alive and giving Kelley no end of trouble. For instance, while he was reporting them at Petersburg,[203] they, marching by way of Greenland Gap, on May 29, struck the Baltimore and Ohio near Wilson Station and inflicted damage but were driven off with losses.[204] Kelley then sent bands of scouts to pursue them,[205] but on June 4, he reported two or three hundred Confederates in Mechanicsburg Gap trying to prevent the return of his scouting parties.[206] On June 6, McNeil and Harness attacked a detachment of Ringgolds, near Moorefield, and killed four of them and wounded six, but they rallied and drove the enemy to the mountains.[207]

June 12, Kelley sent two detachments of scouts to Moorefield, one by way of Romney, and on June 20, he reported that Captain John Boggs in command of Pendleton Home Guards engaged in transporting a supply train from New Creek, had on June 19, been attacked near Petersburg. Although the Confederates had the better of this skirmish in its initial stages, Captain Boggs rallied his force, recaptured his train, and drove the enemy to the mountains. Lieutenant B. J. Dolan, Confederate, was killed in this engagement.[208]

Another incident of this phase of partisan warfare is typical of the hazards attending it. On June 26, McNeil came upon a picket of about 100 men near Springfield, Hampshire County, and captured about 60 of

[202] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXVII, pt. one, pp. 523, 607, 630.
[203] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXVII. pt. one, pp. 522-523, 553, 558.
[204] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXVII, pt. one, p. 578.
[205] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXVII, pt. one, p. 582.
[206] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXVII, pt. one, p. 587.
[207] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXVII, pt. one, pp. 162, 603.
[208] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXVII, pt. one, pp. 167, 656.

them, together with their horses and supplies. They were commanded by Captain Galelma Law of the Sixth West Virginia cavalry and had turned their horses into a field to graze, while they bathed in the river.[209] General Kelley feared the incident would turn out "a great disgraceful affair." As soon as it was reported to him he ordered scouts sent to Romney to learn about the matter.[210] Incidentally, other parties of Federals were in Romney at this time and Confederates were at or near it on June 4, when they occupied Mechanicsburg Gap.

Having temporarily disposed of Hunter, General Early on June 23, set out to accomplish the chief purpose of his expedition into the Shenandoah Valley, which, as outlined by General Lee on June 12, was to strike and, if possible, destroy Hunter's force and then to move across the Potomac and threaten Washington.[211] Among Early's subordinates on this expedition were Brigadier Generals John D. Imboden and John McCausland, in command of cavalry, and Major General John C. Breckenridge in command of infantry. Although their force aggregated less than 10,000 men, the Federals fell back before them to Maryland Heights: Sigel on July 3, from Martinsburg and Brigadier General Max Weber on July 4, from Harpers Ferry. Moving around them in their strong position, the Confederates reached Frederick, Maryland, near which they, on July 9, met and defeated the enemy at the Monocacy under Brigadier General Lew Wallace. They then moved to within sight of the dome of the Federal Capitol which they would have occupied on July 12, but for the timely arrival of reinforcements from General Grant.[212] Under these conditions Early retired across the Potomac to Strasburg.[213]

Like other Confederate raids across the Potomac, Early's was accompanied by a flanking movement into the South Branch Valley. For this purpose he, under directions

[209] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXVII, pt. one, pp. 162, 681.
[210] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXVII, pt. one, pp. 681-682.
[211] *Battles and Leaders*, Vol. IV, p. 492.
[212] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 492-498; *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 175-180, 191-200, 347-348.
[213] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXVII, pt. one, p. 347.

from General Lee, sent Imboden there by way of Brock's Gap with instructions to destroy the Baltimore and Ohio from the mouth of South Branch River to Martinsburg.[214] While Early waited at Winchester until "everything was in readiness," Imboden proceeded on his mission. Two days later (July 4) Confederates were reported at South Branch and in Romney, where they rang the courthouse bell upon the approach of Federal Scouts.[215] On the same day Colonel Robert White in command of the Twenty-third Virginia cavalry, which had also been detached from Early's command to aid in the destruction of the Baltimore and Ohio, destroyed the railroad bridge at the junction of the North and South branches of the Potomac and regained his command ten days later.[216] McNeil was reported by Kelley to be in Romney, bent upon destruction of the South Branch Railroad bridge.[217] Nothing came of this threat, however, and all was reported as quiet until July 22, when Kelley instructed Colonel Francis W. Thompson, stationed at North Branch, to investigate a report to the effect that quite a Confederate troop was then at or near Romney.[218] The investigation disclosed that McNeil and Harness were then concentrating their forces there.[219] The correctness of this report was confirmed also by the fact that McNeil on July 30, crossed the Potomac and raided Old Town, Maryland.[220]

One purpose of these demonstrations was to aid McCausland, who on July 28, had been ordered by Early to invade Pennsylvania for the purpose of taking retaliatory measures for Hunter's destruction of property in the Valley of Virginia, of striking the Baltimore and Ohio, of collecting horses, cattle, and other supplies, and finally of destroying the Federal defenses and supplies at New Creek.[221] In pursuit of this order McCausland, early on

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[214] *Battles and Leaders,* Vol. IV, p. 493.
[215] *O. R.* I, Vol. XXXVII, pt. two, p. 51.
[216] *Conf. Mil. Hist.*, Vol. II, pt. two, pp. 99-100.
[217] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXVII, pt. two. pp. 320-321.
[218] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXVII, pt. two, p. 421.
[219] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXVII, pt. two, p. 424.
[220] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXVII, pt. two, pp. 517-518, 533, 535.
[221] James E. Brown. "Life of Brigadier General John McCausland," in *West Virginia History,* Vol. IV. pp. 275-281.

the morning of July 30, occupied Chambersburg with a force of about 400 men. Upon the refusal of the residents to pay a ransom of $100,000 in gold or $500,000 in currency, as ordered by General Early, McCausland burned the town a few hours after he entered it.[222] Returning by way of Cumberland, which he planned to destroy in case it also refused to pay a prescribed tribute, McCausland found it too well defended even to enter. Accordingly, he, fighting his way against Federal infantry, crossed the Potomac at Old Town, as planned, and proceeded to Romney, which he occupied on August 3.[223] Having dispatched his supply train and spoils to the Valley of Virginia, McCausland then moved upon New Creek, where he was turned back with thirty casualties who, for lack of transportation, were left on the battlefield.[224] In support of McCausland's expedition Captain McNeil had on August 3, crossed the Potomac at Brady's Mill, six miles west of Cumberland and inflicted minor damages on the Railroad.[225]

By way of Burlington McCausland then moved to Moorefield, where he planned to rest his men and his horses before joining Early in the Valley, but on August 6, scouts, left at Romney, informed him that Averell had on August 5, passed through that town and would probably attack him early the next morning. Although McCausland apprised his subordinates, Brigadier General Bradley T. Johnson and Colonel James Cochran, of the impending danger, they were defeated by Averell with losses of 150 killed, 420 prisoners, 678 horses, and all their wagons.[226]

Thus McCausland's Pennsylvania laurels turned to Virginia willows, and that too despite the vigilance of his scouts left at Romney. He and Johnson disagreed as to the causes, but the disbandment of the latter's brigade, at the

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[222] J. A. Early, *Memoirs of Lieutenant General Jubal A. Early*, pp. 401, 404; *West Virginia Review*, Vol. III, p. 222; *ibid*, Vol. XVI, p. 62; Brown, "McCausland," in *West Virginia History*, Vol. IV, pp. 278-279.
[223] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXVII, pt. one, pp. 189, 355.
[224] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XLIII, pt. one, pp. 3, 5; *Conf. Mil. Hist.* Vol. II, 487.
[225] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XXXVII, pt. one, p. 189.
[226] *O. R.*, I. Vol. XLIII, pt. one, pp. 4-7, 81, 84.

suggestion of General Lee, six days later was significant.[227] At the time Johnson denounced the alleged "outrageous conduct of the troops on the expedition," whom he charged with "Every crime in the catalogue of infamy, . . . except murder and rape."[228]

Because of the terror produced in Federal quarters by Early's threat to Washington, Major General Philip (Phil) H. Sheridan was on August 6, placed in immediate command of all troops in the Middle Military Division, which embraced West Virginia,[229] and on August 30, General Hunter was relieved of the command of the Department of West Virginia and Brevet Major General George Crook was assigned to it.[230] Except McNeil's feat of August 28-30, against the Railroad which carried him only to Romney, Federals were then left in undisputed control of New Creek, Romney, and Cumberland, while Crook and Sheridan planned to drive the Confederates out of the Shenandoah Valley.

During the preliminary stages of the resulting campaign the South Branch Valley continued quiet. But as the contest tended to reach a climax at Cedar Creek (October 19), activity was resumed. As the Federals pressed the Confederates closely during this entire period and as man power was an increasingly difficult problem with them, their activities, except those by Rosser, were consequently restricted to partisan warfare, with McNeil again playing the leading role.

Among the minor operations affecting the South Branch region the *Official Records* mention a skirmish at Piedmont on October 9, but do not give the details.[231] The skirmish near Piedmont two days later was an effort on the part of Confederate partisans, led by Captain Harness, to destroy the Pendleton County militia, known as the "Swamp Dragons." Anticipating their purpose, "the Swamps" were prepared and drove their assailants

[227] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XLIII, pt. one, p. 551; *O. R.*, I, Vol. XLVI, pt. two, p. 1199.
[228] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XLIII, pt. one, p. 7.
[229] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XLIII, pt. one, pp. 709, 719.
[230] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XLIII, pt. one, p. 962.
[231] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XLIII, pt. one, p. 1.

away.[232] On October 30, a scout reported McNeil and Colonel Robert White between Winchester and Bath.[233] Two days later they attacked the Federal post at Green Spring and effected a number of casualties. They also captured a number of horses and a quantity of supplies. But for the timely arrival of a troop train, they might have captured the West Bound Express.[234] Maxwell and Swisher say McNeil was in Romney on November 1, on his way to Green Spring and that Federal troops pursuing him occupied the town the next day.[235] While probable and possible, these claims cannot be verified by the *Official Records*. Finally, Colonel George Latham of the Fifth West Virginia cavalry moving from New Creek by way of Greenland Gap, on November 7, attacked "the rebel command" at Moorefield and took a small number of prisoners. More important perhaps, he took 46 beef cattle and 46 sheep and reported a considerable amount of stock suitable for army use in the vicinity of Moorefield.[236]

The Rosser Raid, previously mentioned, was one of the most effective and impressive of those in the Hampshire-Hardy area. On the evening of November 27, he defeated Lieutenant Colonel Rufus E. Fleming as he was entering Moorefield bent on driving out "rebel partisans." Instead of waiting for the arrival of Major Peter J. Potts, who was approaching the town from another direction and for the same purpose, Rosser left a guard there and pursued Colonel Fleming all the way to New Creek, which he surprised and captured on the morning of November 28. The coup netted between 700 and 800 prisoners; eight pieces of artillery, including four siege guns; a large number of horses and mules; and 200 wagons, together with a quantity of supplies, all of which were destroyed. In both encounters Rosser's total losses were only two killed and two wounded. The extent of his activities cannot be definitely determined from the official sources. They

[232] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XLIII, pt. one, p. 645; *ibid.*, pt. two, pp. 351, 553.
[233] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XLIII, pt. two, p. 496.
[234] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XLIII, pt. one, p. 649.
[235] *Hampshire County*, pp. 552-553.
[236] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XLIII, pt. one, pp. 652-653.

certainly extend as far eastward as Romney and to the railroad shops at Piedmont, which together with considerable public property, were destroyed.[237]

Because of the degree of security which the Federals had attained, the capture of New Creek by the enemy was followed by significant repercussions. Sheridan claimed that the garrison was strong enough to have resisted an attack by 5,000 to 7,000 men, but the successful attackers numbered only about 2,000. Moreover, the garrison surrendered without firing a shot. In other words, as stated by Sheridan, "It was disgracefully given up," and the expedition to Moorefield, sent out by General Kelley, was described by Sheridan as "on the bragging system."[238] But General Kelley, from his headquarters in Cumberland, defended it in a lengthy report, in which he placed the blame upon those in command. As a consequence, Colonel George R. Latham was arrested at Kelley's order and sent to Grafton, West Virginia, to await trial by court martial.[239]

Following the death of Captain McNeil on November 10, 1864, near Mount Jackson and the taking of time out by Rosser to recuperate his force, there was a dearth of strictly partisan warfare on the Hampshire-Hardy sector. This inactivity was also prolonged by severe weather. Federal scouts were accordingly more successful in eluding Confederates than they had been in eluding Captain McNeil, and Rosser's plight was such that he was forced temporarily to disband his force to save it from starvation. It was to relieve this situation that he on January 10-11, 1865, attacked Beverly in present West Virginia. Although he had only 300 men, the Beverly garrison of several times the number suffered more than 600 casualties, 572 of them prisoners.

More important still the Beverly Raid netted Rosser 100 horses, 600 arms and equipment, and 10,000 rations.[240]

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[237] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XLIII, pt. one, pp. 653-670; McDonald, *Laurel Brigade*, pp. 321-330.
[238] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XLIII, pt. one, pp. 653-654.
[239] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XLIII, pt. one, pp. 655-658.
[240] McDonald, *Laurel Brigade*, pp. 336-339; *O. R.*, I, Vol. XLVI, pp. 447-451.

Of these reprisals a participant said, "General Rosser and staff took possession of the largest store in town [and] loaded a four horse ambulance with spoils, while our wounded are left in Beverly." He did not object to this but expressed disgust at seeing "worthless" quartermasters and commissars get twenty to thirty times as much as "the men who fought the Yankees."[241]

As usual this stroke resulted in a counter attack. This one was led by Major Elias S. Troxel who on January 11, set out from New Creek for Franklin. First contacts with the enemy were made at Petersburg, from which point he was pursued by about 100 men of Captain McNeil's former command, then led by his son, Lieutenant Jesse C. McNeil. At the Mouth of Seneca, Troxel was joined by Captain Boggs in command of Pendleton home guards, but Troxel found his objective, Franklin, deserted. Eluding scouts at Petersburg he returned to New Creek on January 15, without the loss of a man.[242]

As the end drew near local raids reflected the desperation of the losers and the determination of the winners. This was noticeably true of the February 4-6 expedition of Lieutenant Colonel Edward W. Whitaker of the First Connecticut cavalry. Under orders from General Sheridan it moved by forced marches from Winchester to Moorefield for the purpose of capturing Confederates under command of Major Harry W. Gilmor. By the skillful cooperation of Major Henry H. Young, commanding General Sheridan's scouts, Whitaker surprised and captured Major Gilmor himself. Whitaker then returned to his base by way of Romney and Blue's Gap with no casualties.[243]

Maxwell and Swisher say "this was the force which murdered Captain George W. Stump." They state also, but erroneously, that McNeil held Romney on February 7,[244] but he had been dead since November 10, 1864. Ref-

[241] William L. Wilson, "Diary" (MS) for January 10-11, 1865.
[242] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XLVI, pt. one, pp. 451-452.
[243] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XLVI, pt. one, pp. 455-457.
[244] *Hampshire County*, pp. 553, 651-654.

erence may, however, have been to his son, Lieutenant Jesse C. McNeil. It is likely that he had pursued the retiring Federals in an effort to recapture Major Gilmor.

The last important incident in the Hampshire-Hardy region, the capture of Brevet Major Generals George Crook and Benjamin F. Kelley, came as a sort of anticlimax. Early in the morning of February 21, 1865, they were taken from their hotels in Cumberland and hastily carried through the Federal lines. This exploit was the work of 60 men commanded by Lieutenant McNeil, but it was planned by John B. Fay, a private in McNeil's company.[245] Both going and coming the raiders passed through Romney. Although pursued closely, they made their escape and their captives were sent on to prison.[246]

Reflecting their respective dispositions but more likely the exigencies of the situation, Crook, who had not long been in command at Cumberland, was jovial and joked about the affair which he described as "the most brilliant exploit of the war." But Kelley, who had for a long time been active in keeping the Railroad open and who had made dire threats against McNeil and Harness, was sullen and refused to talk. Colonel John S. Mosby, the famous Confederate scout, described this episode as surpassing any of his own.

Following the Crook-Kelley incident other belligerents, both Federal and Confederate, were in Romney both before and after Lee's surrender, but their activities were not important enough to find a way into the *Official Records*. Maxwell and Swisher say that "the town was held for the last time by Confederates on April 15, 1865."[247] The occupants are said to have been members of Edward H. McDonald's and George F. Sheetz's companies, who had escaped from Virginia with General Rosser, when General Lee surrendered. They were members of the famous Laurel Brigade, the remnant of which was dis-

[245] For Fay's account of this incident see McDonald, *Laurel Brigade*, pp. 342-355 See also J. W. Duffey, "Two Generals Kidnapped" (pamphlet, 3d. ed., Baltimore, 1927); *Missouri Hist. Review*, Vol. XXI, pp. 404-420.
[246] *O. R.*, I, Vol. XLVI, pt. one, pp. 468-472; *ibid.*, pt. one, pp. 620-626.
[247] *Hampshire County*, pp. 553, 691.

banded at Lynchburg by Colonel Robert White who, as a captain, led the first company from Hampshire County to defend Virginia and aid the Confederacy.[248]

[248] McDonald, *Laurel Brigade*, p. 381; Wilson, "Diary" (MS), for April 9, 1865.

Additional Notes on the Herriott Farm Site

Carl P. Manson
Capt. H. A. MacCord

Since the Herriott Farm Site was last described, much more of the village area has been lost to the river.[1] To prevent the loss of all the cultural material uncovered by the destructive actions of flood, rain, and frost, the writers have revisited the site on several occasions. These visits, spaced over a period of two years, have produced sufficient information to warrant the recording of supplementary notes.

The Potomac (South Branch) at Hanging Rocks, flows to the northwest in a comparative straight line for approximately one mile to a point where it curves eastwardly in a wide arc. (PLATE I) The Herriott Farm Site is located at the start of this arc where the full force of the river current strikes the bank which is now unprotected. The river, even at normal stage, slowly undercuts this bank and disrupts the angle of repose, forcing the top of the bank to slough off. At higher levels, such as during freshets and floods, the erosive action is accelerated and affects the entire slope. During prolonged periods of high water the bank is made vertical or slightly overhanging; then when the waters recede the bank quickly restores its angle of repose by cave-ins and sloughing. This combined washing and caving is responsible for the rapid disappearance of so much of the site.

The rapidity with which the bank is being destroyed is illustrated by the following: In 1934, Wade Herriott, the owner of the site, cleared the field of all large rocks and boulders. These were gathered and deposited over the edge

[1] *West Virginia History.* Vol. II, No. 4, July, 1941.

of the bank in an effort to stem erosion which was rapidly progressing. Several wagon loads of stones and boulders were so disposed, and a large pile was accumulated at the foot of the bank. The 1936 and 1942 floods and intermediate freshets have so eroded the bank that this rock-pile, once at the foot of the bank, now constitutes a noticeable island in the river at least fifty feet from shore.

Frost action, the expanding and contracting of the wet soil during the winter months, also contributes to more rapid erosion of the bank. The constant changing of temperature causes the soil to loosen and tumble into the river at the slightest vibration.

It is likely that erosion has been taking place at this site for over one hundred years, as Kercheval in his work,[2] published in 1833, states, "about 2 miles below the Hanging Rocks, in the banks of the river, a stratum of ashes, about one rod in length, was some years ago discovered. At this place are signs of an Indian village and their oldfields." This description accurately describes the Herriott Site. The bank even then seems to have been unprotected.

EXCAVATIONS

In March, 1943, three days were spent at the site, at which time two stagger test trenches were dug. These trenches were dug in an effort to locate possible stockade lines, house sites, or the village limits. Although none of these features was discovered, some information regarding the floor of the village was revealed.

One of the trenches paralleled the river and consisted of three five-foot squares, while the second extended at right angles from the first, starting at the river and continuing toward the village extremes. No pits were discovered in these trenches, but in the second square of the second trench, one post hole was discovered, as was a shallow trench or gully filled with village refuse. This shallow gully bisected the square and was about six inches in

[2] Samuel Kercheval, *A History of the Valley of Virginia*, 1833.

PLATE I. View from the Rocks, Route 28 Near Romney, West Virginia, South Branch of the Potomac River.

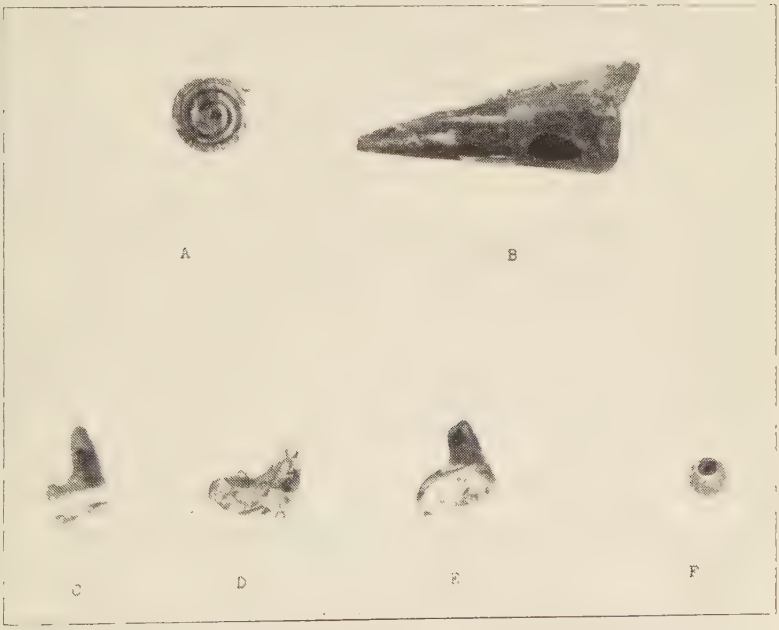
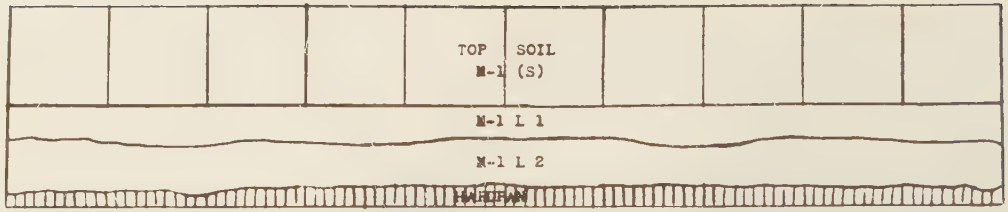


PLATE II. Artifacts Recovered from the Herriott Farm Site.



A. SECTION M-1

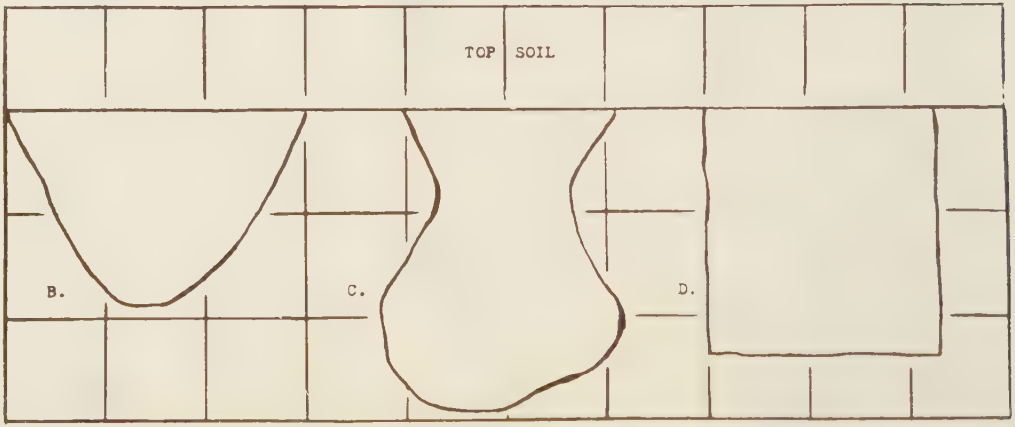


FIG. I
HERRICTT FARM SITE
ROMNEY, W. VA.

SCALE: 1 Sq. 1 ft.

depth. Similar trenches or gullies have been found and described at the tidewater village site of Patawomeke.[3]

Top soil in the trenched area was unusually deep — 12 inches, and by observing the soil line along the entire length of the village at the eroded bank this characteristic was found to be a regular feature. The top soil contained scattered sherds, chips, small pieces of refuse bone and numerous fire-cracked stones. Immediately under the top soil was a stratum of black soil, mingled with ash, and containing numerous sherds, larger pieces of refuse bone, occasional bone and pottery artifacts, carbonized corn, bark, and heavy deposits of charcoal. This layer was found to be slightly irregular over the floor of the village and averaged from seven to nine inches in depth. It was even more irregular along the profile, shown by the erosion of the river bank. Under this stratum of black soil was a strata of heavy brown clay hardpan, undisturbed except for the features mentioned, and containing occasional flecks of charcoal, which was probably due to leaching. This strata was dug to a depth of two feet in order to determine the presence of any further disturbances, but the deeper the squares were dug, the more homogeneous and compact the hardpan became.

More work was conducted during the latter part of July, 1943. This work was done in complete disregard of previous excavation in order to explore a portion that seemed destined for rapid erosion. This section was ten feet square, 58′ northwest of the previously worked trenches, and 18′ from the river bank, well back from shore so as not to hasten erosion.

Excavation was started by first removing sod and top soil. The section for identification purposes was labeled M-1; (FIG. 1, A) and specimens recovered from top soil were tagged, M-1-S. (Surface) Directly under top soil was an irregular 3-4″ stratum of dark soil, freely mingled with small pieces of animal bones, sherds, chips, and bone,

[3] T. D. Stewart, *Further Excavations at the Indian Village Site of Patawomeke, (Potomac)* 1939.

shell, and stone artifacts. The soil was greasy to touch and contained some mixture of charcoal and ash. A small copper pendant and two tubular copper beads were found in this layer, which was tagged; M-1, L-1. (Square M-1, Level 1.)

Under this layer was found still another strata, 4-5″ in depth. This was tagged; M-1, L-2. (Square M-1, Level 2.) L-2 was composed of much darker soil than L-1, contained a larger portion of ash and charcoal, and was generally softer to touch. L-2 was easily distinguishable from the covering stratum by both the difference in color and texture of the soil. This layer, as was the previous, was carefully trowled, and if there was any doubt as to which strata any one specimen belonged the specimen was labeled with the uppermost stratum. The contents of the lower level (L-2) were similar to that of the upper (L-1) with but one exception: no contact material was recovered in the lower. This is not to be taken as a conclusive feature in as much as the area worked was small compared to the size of the site. However, it is suggestive of a time interval between layers, and may aid in more accurately dating the site. The sherds from both strata are without exception shell tempered.

Under this lower level, and imbedded in the hardpan was an oval shaped discoloration (PLATE II) which when trowled proved to be void of artifacts. This depression into the hardpan was three inches deep, saucer shaped, and consisted entirely of hard packed ash, colors of which ranged from white to deep shades of red and brown. This discoloration, horizontally pit-like in character, can be defined as a fire-bed.

The cultural material recovered from the different stratas in M-1 are numerically listed as follows:

M-1-S

½ pottery bead
15 shell tempered sherds
2 grit tempered sherds
1 fragmentary celt.
1 net sinker
1 flint blank
3 triangular arrowheads

M-1 L-1

98 Shell tempered sherds
1 broken bone awl
2 pipe stem fragments
18 triangular arrowheads (flint and chert)
1 copper or brass pendant (Trade)
2 copper or brass beads (Trade)
1 flint knife
8 blanks (flint and chert)

M-1 L-2

39 shell tempered sherds
9 triangular arrowpoints (flint and chert)
1 chert blank
1 section deer skull showing knife scars
2 sections land tortoise, scored on inside

One feature noted during the excavations, which were conducted during different seasons of the past year, were the variations in soil texture. During the excavations in the winter and spring the soil was extremely wet and mucky, and differences in soil and texture were not always entirely clear. Digging was comparatively easy.

During the summer digs, the ground was extremely hard, and specimens were firmly imbedded in matrix-like soil. Digging was most difficult. However, some features not fully determined in the earlier digging were explained. For instance, the dry soil showed the slightest variations in color, and all strata were easily determined. These strata differences were not noted during the digging in the wetter seasons, although they were most assiduously looked for.

PITS

Although no pits were found in the trenching operations, several were revealed by the sloughing of the river bank. One was bell-shaped in vertical cross section, (FIG, I, B) and was probably used first for storage purposes and then refuse. Several were found to have concave sides and bases (FIG. I, C) while one had straight sides and a straight bottom. (FIG. I, D) The burial pits in all examined were found to have concave sides and bases.

BURIALS

The burials removed from this site are of the utmost importance in as much as they are the first proto-historic

interments described from the Upper-Potomac Valley.

Nine additional skeletons were recovered from this site during the last three visits. Without exception the burials were located by the protrusion of one or more of the bones from the eroded bank, and all were partially disturbed by erosion. In most cases the writers were able to determine burial position by assuming that the bones found were in their normal articulate position. The skeletons recovered are so incomplete that metrical study will not be entirely satisfactory.

Burial artifacts were recovered with the following skeletons:

Skeleton No. 2. Copper jingles, coils, glass and shell beads.

Skeleton No. 6. Copper jingles, beads, and glass and shell beads.

Skeleton No. 7. One restorable pottery bowl.

Skeleton No. 8. One bone awl.

The following burials not previously described were removed from the site:

Skeleton No. 1, was that of an adult female (20-25). Flexed on right side, head facing NE, at a depth of 2.0′ from surface.

Skeleton No. 2, represents the scattered remains of a child (8-10 years). Skull was found on left side facing SW. Left humerus and femur were only long bones recovered. Probably flexed on left side. Depth from surface to skull, 1.4′.

Skeleton No. 3, was that of a child (10 years). Both the pelvis and lower extremities were missing. Interment was on back with arms folded over chest. Depth from surface to skull, 1.4′.

Skeleton No. 4, was that of a child (Under 2 years—about 1 year). Extended, lying on back with head up. Depth from surface to skull, 1.8′.

Skelton No. 5, was the remains of an adult female (Young). Pelvis and lower extremities missing. Extended, with arms folded over chest. Depth from surface to skull, 3.1′.

Skeleton No. 6, was that of a sub-adult (Male). Flexed on left side, head facing NE. Depth from surface to skull, 2.6′.

Skeleton No. 7, was that of an adult female. Flexed on right side, skull facing SE. Depth from surface to skull, 1.4′.

Skeleton No. 8, was that of an adult male. Bundle burial. Right femur, left tibia the only bones other than the skull, were crossed in front of face. Lower mandible found over crossed bones. Depth from surface to skull, 3.2′.

Skeleton No. 9, was the scattered remains of a child (2-4 years). This skeleton was disturbed by the plow and re-deposited in the top soil where found.

ARTIFACTS

PIPES

One almost complete pipe and several stem and bowl fragments were found. One bowl fragment displays a flaring rim and has a decoration consisting of the minute pointelle design, showing the use of the roulette. The design is made up of four bands parallel to the rim and one band around the base of the bowl, these connected by four additional sets of bands running diagonally from top to bottom.

The nearly complete pipe is the most unusual artifact found at this site, and, to the writer's knowledge, the first of its kind to be found in all the northeastern area. This pipe is of clay and is artificially colored both inside and out with red pigment and black paint. It is elbow shaped and has an over all length of five inches. The bowl is set at right angles to the stem and expands from a diameter of ½″ at the juncture with the stem to 1½″ at the mouth of the bowl. The specimen is complete except for a small piece of the bowl, which was not found in the pit, and a thin circular disc of clay which crumbled off the mouthpiece when the pipe was cleaned. The clay used was buff-colored, and although the pipe has weathered some, traces of red pigment may be seen on the inside and outside of the bowl. On one side of the pipe there is a series of black-painted tally-marks, sixteen in number, at right angles to the center line of the bowl and stem. The marks are about one-half inch long and average one-fourth inch wide. They are evenly spaced along the whole length of the pipe. On the other side of the specimen a painted black line runs from the mouthpiece to the bowl, paralleling the center line of the pipe. This may represent either an arrow or a snake, but since the line is not wavy and the ends are indistinct, no exact object can be recognized.

1.4

BONE AND ANTLER

Bone and antler artifacts were comparatively rare at this site. Those recovered are well fashioned and show careful workmanship. Of the most interest are the series of bear teeth, highly polished from use and pierced for suspension. They occurred as follows: 16 specimens with skeleton No. 2; and 12 with skeleton No. 6. (PLATE II, C, D, E)

Two finely made and well polished "drifts" or flakers were recovered from the pit that contained the painted pipe. They were identical except for length, both having a uniform diameter. The first was 3¼ inches long while the other was 3⅛. They do not show signs of use. A fine, well made, polished splinter awl was found lying on the distal end of the right femur of skeleton No. 8.

One bone pick or digging tool was made from a splint humerus of the Virginia deer. The proximal end is natural, while the tool narrows to a dull blade at nine inches. The blade end shows striations and marks of use.

Several worked antler tines were recovered, as were several finished projectile points.

SHELL

There was an abundant supply of clams at the disposal of the inhabitants of the Herriott Site for the manufacture of beads and ornaments and for food. Hundreds of these clam shells are found scattered over the surface of the field and along the slopes of the river bank.

Beads were the most numerous of the shell artifacts recovered. Fourteen made from the Marginella Virginiana Conrad of the South Atlantic coast were found associated with skeleton No. 2. Thirty-two large disc beads (Busycon Carica) were also found with skeleton No. 2; while 25 of these disc beads and a strand of 3′ of a smaller variety were found with skeleton No. 6.

One pendant was made from a clam shell by drilling a hole through the thick end. A shell scraper and two frag-

ments of serrated shell spoons complete the list of shell artifacts.

TRADE MATERIAL

Trade material was found with two burials, skeletons Nos. 2 and 6. The following artifacts were associated with skeleton No. 2:

6 jingles, made of cone-shaped pieces of brass or copper with overlapping edges for joints. Length varies from 1½ to 3 inches. (Plate II, B)

1 bracelet made of a strip of brass or copper corrugated to represent three ribs, and then bent until the ends met. A perforation through the metal opposite the joint may indicate that it was worn as a pendant, or had other objects attached to it. Diameter of the bracelet is 1¾ inches.

1 ring identical to the above described bracelet except that the average diameter is only 1 inch.

2 coils or spirals of brass or copper wire. (Plate II, A)

8 large barrel-shaped glass beads, blue with white stripes. (Plate D, F)

2 small barrel-shaped blue-green glass beads, spherical.

2 small barrel-shaped beads, blue, with white stripes and in addition a 12 pointed star surrounding the holes in each end of the bead.

1 small green glass spherical bead.

The following artifacts were associated with skeleton No. 6:

4 jingles, similar to those found with skeleton No. 2, except that the lengths varied from 1 to 2¾ inches.

2 tubular beads of rolled sheet brass or copper, 1 inch long, ⅛-inch in diameter.

1 spiral of wire similar to those found with skeleton No. 2.

The artifacts of copper or brass are practically identical to those found by Cadzow[4] at the Strickler Site, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, which is assigned to the Colonial Period between 1629-75. Copper spirals of the same type as those from Romney were also found at the site of Patowmacke,[5] Stafford County, Virginia, which

[4] Donald A. Cadzow, *Archaeological Studies of the Susquehannock Indians of Pennsylvania*, 1936.
[5] T. D. Stewart, *Explorations and Field Work of the Smithsonian Institute in 1939*.

dates from 1609-79, and in the ossuary on Piscataway Creek excavated by Mrs. Alice L. L. Ferguson, which dates from 1624-80[6].

ORGANIC MATERIAL

Carbonized and charred corn and corn cobs (zia-maize) was found in several of the pits, and from both stratas of M-1. Carbonized bark was also found in the above stratas, and on the bottom of several bell-shaped pits.

STONE

The stone artifacts recovered consist almost entirely of small, well chipped triangular arrowheads of flint and chert. One small sandstone net sinker was found in the top soil of section M-1, and the broken end of a celt was found on the river shore.

CERAMICS

The pottery recovered from the Herriott Site was entirely fragmentary, and has been previously described.[7] The most noticeable feature was the simularity displayed by the decorative motive of the sherds. This one main design is composed of both straight and parallel incised lines arranged in series, all grouped below the rim and filling the collar of the vessel. Below the vessel collar is a slight constriction· The remaining portion of the vessel consists of a globular base. At least one half of the vessel is taken up by the decoration.

A representative group of sherds, tested by the geological scale of hardness, ranges from 2 to 3, the majority falling about 2.5.

Another unusual pottery feature is the material used in tempering. Over 3000 sherds have been examined from this site, and with the exception of five sherds, all are shell tempered. The five sherds were grit tempered and were all found on the surface.

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[6] Mrs. Alice L. L. Ferguson, "An Ossuary Near Piscataway Creek," in *American Antiquity*, Vol. 6, No. 1, July, 1940.
[7] W. H. Holmes, *Aboriginal Pottery of the Eastern United States*, 1903.

The two unusual pottery features noted, the simularity of decoration, and the exclusive use of shell as the tempering agent, are indicative of a short and continuous habitation at this site.

CONCLUSIONS

With the exception of the contact material the artifacts recovered from the Herriott Site were Iroquoian. Although there is some evidence of stratigraphy indicating a lapse of time between the two strata in M-1, the site appears to have had a continuous and comparatively brief existence. The site was probably inhabited about 1650-75.

About 80 per cent of the Herriott Site has already been lost to the river, and unless steps are taken to stop erosion, or the remaining portion of the field excavated, not much more useful information or many more specimens will be obtained.

West Virginians in the American Revolution

Assembled and Edited by ROSS B. JOHNSTON

The sources of this material are from the files of the Pension Office at Washington from various county records, from notes of patriotic societies, principally the Daughters of the American Revolution, Sons of the American Revolution, Sons of the Revolution, and from a large miscellaneous group of published and private sources. Corrections and additions to this list will receive the careful attention of the editor.

MOORE, SAMUEL

Service—Virginia Indiana-Va. 7027 No. S. 17983

Born, Staunton, Augusta County, Virginia, July 14, 1761. At the outbreak of the Revolution lived in Greenbrier County. Enlisted under Captain J. Armstrong in the Virginia Militia commanded by Major Hamilton, and served from February, 1781, to September, 1781. He applied for and received pension, October 25, 1832, Putnam County, Indiana. Supporting data submitted by the Rev. George Piercy and William Robertson.

MORGAN, EVANS (Ensign)

Service—Pennsylvania-Virginia Va. No. 23401 No. S. 11098

Born, Town Creek, Alleghany County, Maryland, March 1, 1754; removed to Frederick County, Virginia while an infant, and in 1773 came with his father to Monongalia County, Virginia. Reference is made to his being a son of Daniel Morgan and a brother to Captain Morgan Morgan, but his father was probably David.

He enlisted, March, 1776, under Captain Nelson in the First Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line, commanded by Colonel DeHose or DeHouse. He served as a private until 1780 when he received a commission as ensign from the Governor of Virginia. His statement mentions many officers: General Hand; Colonels Brodhead, Housaker, Oldham, Harley, Wine, Johnson, Angus McDaniel; Major Huffnagel; Captains Zadock Springer, Biggs, Butler, McCullough and others.

He received pension in 1834 which was increased in 1836. Supporting data was filed by Colonel Dudley Evans, Mathew Gray, and David P. Morgan. The soldier died in 1850 and is buried in the Fairview Cemetery, Monongalia County.

MORGAN, JAMES

James Morgan, who was one of the five Morgans serving in Captain William Haymond's company of Monongalia County militia during the Revolution, is buried in the Cramer Cemetery, Winfield, Marion County.

MORGAN, MORGAN (Lieutenant)

Born, Winchester, Virginia, in 1746; came with his father, David, to the Monongahela Valley, and died in Monongalia County, in 1820. He was the commander of a company of militia at the outbreak of the Revolution. When Captain William Haymond organized his company of Monongalia County militia in 1777, Morgan Morgan became its first lieutenant. With him into the service of this company went no fewer than four other members of the Morgan family as privates.

MORGAN, WILLIAM (Colonel)

Colonel William Morgan was one of the hundred men who assembled at Morgan's Spring near Shepherdstown in 1775 and from thence marched with Hugh Stephenson to join Washington at Boston. After the war, William married Agnes Vail, daughter of Isaac and Elizabeth (Jennings) Vail of Orange, New Jersey. They left one son, Jephtha, who lived in Berkeley County.

Colonel Morgan was the son of Isaac Morgan and the grandson of Richard Morgan, who built one of the first houses in the Shenandoah Valley near Shepherdstown.

MORGAN, WILLIAM, JR.

Son of George Morgan. Enlisted in Berkeley County and was known as Captain Morgan. Served in Captain William Morgan's company in the skirmish at Piscatawa.

MORGAN, WILLIAM, SR. (Captain)

Served in the French and Indian War under his father, Richard Morgan. Married Drusilla Swearingen, daughter of Thomas Swearingen. In 1776-77, raised a company near Shepherdstown and led them to Washington. His men took part in the action at Piscatawa. In 1779, he led a party to Kentucky. He died in 1788, leaving three daughters and five sons, who were Abraham, George, Ralph, Raleigh, and Zaccheus.

MORGAN, ZACKQUILL (Colonel)

Born in 1735 and came from the Eastern Panhandle in 1766-68 with his brother, David, to settle in the Monongahela Valley. His stout log cabin became Fort Morgan and the nucleus around which grew up Morgan's Town, now Morgantown. He died January 1, 1795.

He was made county lieutenant of Monongalia County, February 17, 1777, and was the military and civil leader of the community. After the Revolution he laid out the town of Morgantown which was established by act of the Virginia Legislature in 1785. He maintained an inn. His home on University Avenue, north of Fayette Street, stood until torn down a few years ago to make way for a filling station. In this house his granddaughter, Drusilla Morgan, born in 1814, died in 1904.

Colonel Morgan was married twice; first to Nancy Paxton, to whom three children were born: Ann Nancy, who married John Pierpont, and who was grandmother of Francis H. Pierpont, one of the leading spirits in the organization of West Virginia and who was the war-time governor

of the Restored State of Virginia; Temperance, who married James Cochran; Catherine, who married Jacob Scott. Morgan's second wife was Drusilla Springer, and they had eleven children: Levi, Uriah, James, Zodac, Morgan ("Mod"), Zackquill, Hannah, Sally, Rachel, Drusilla, and Horatio.

MORGAN, ZACKQUILL (Sergeant)
Service—Pennsylvania-Virginia Va. No. 12360 No. W. 1912

Born, Frederick County, Virginia, September 18, 1758; died, February 27, 1834-35. Came to Monongalia County, while a young man, and there in 1778 enlisted under Captains James Brinton, Samuel Mason, Campbell, and Evans and served as a private and sergeant in the Eighth and Thirteenth Pennsylvania Regiments commanded by Colonels Morgan, Brodhead, and General McIntosh. Many other officers are named.

Pension was applied for and secured in Monongalia County, in 1833, but it was later suspended without full explanation shown. Supporting data was filed by Joseph Heartley, James Morgan, a nephew, Evans Morgan, brother, and Stephen Morgan. The soldier married Sina or Cina West in Monongalia County, September 19, 1794. To them were born the following children: Stephen, 1797; Sally, 1800; Mary, 1802; Malinda, 1805, Katherine, 1807; Rebecca, 1810; John Parimont, 1812; David James, 1815; Samuel, 1817; Elizabeth, 1820. The widow of the soldier received pension in 1849 while living in Marion County.

MORGAN, ZEDEKIAH

Born, Norwich, Connecticut, March 8, 1754; died, French Creek, Upshur County, Virginia, October 12, 1822. He was twice married; first to Ruth Dart, of Connecticut, and then to Rebecca Watson of Boston.

He served in the Revolutionary War as a teamster (or conductor) from 1779 to 1781. In regard to the transportation of supplies to the army, Assistant Quartermaster Ralph Pomeroy at Hartford writes to Quartermaster General Pickering in the field, July 15, 1781: "There are three brigades of teams with conductors and another brigade with the provisions, with orders to unload and lend wheels as occasion may be. The pieces of artillery are drawn with 68 yoke of oxen each, one by seven and one by six. These teams will have to return for their carts which came from the North River. Carts loaded with tents, haversacks, etc., at Rocky Hill."

MORRIS, AMOS
Service—Virginia Va. No. 12930 No. S. 7244

Born, August 25, 1758, Apple Pie Ridge, Berkeley County, Virginia. Moved to Youghiogheny County, Virginia, now Greene County, Pennsylvania, and resided in Monongalia County, Virginia, when the Revolution broke out. There enlisted, May, 1778, and served two years while protecting and guarding the western frontiers. His officers were Lieutenant Springer, Captains Cross, Clark, Whetsel, Clark, Brady; Colonels Evans, and Gibson.

He applied for pension in Monongalia County in 1832, which was

granted in 1833. Supporting data was submitted by George Wade, James Troy, Henry Yoho, Sam Minor, and William Stiles.

MORRIS, HENRY

Born in Virginia, 1747, son of William and Elizabeth Stipps Morris; died, 1824, Nicholas County, Virginia. Married Mary Byrd (Bird), daughter of John Byrd of Jackson River, Bath County, Virginia, who was born about 1747 and died after 1820. Morris took part in the battle of Point Pleasant in 1774 and was active in other events of frontier life in the Kanawha Valley.

The children of Henry and Mary Byrd Morris were: Sarah, married Charles Young, March 29, 1793; Betsy, born, 1778, and Margaret, born, 1780, both killed by Indians in 1792 in Nicholas County; Polly, born, October 10, 1783, married Jesse James of Bath County; John, born, 1783 and died September, 1855, married Jane Brown, March 13, 1807; Catherine, born, 1787, died December 1853, married William Byrd or Bird of Bath County, who may have been a cousin; Lean, married Archy Price; (there may also have been still another daughter).

The Byrd family on Jackson River was one of those visited by tragedy during the Indian raids of 1756. John Byrd, the head of the family, was killed; Sarah, born, 1743, had a narrow escape from the Indians but a sister was captured and apparently spent the rest of her life with the Indians. Besides Mary, who married Henry Morris, there was also Thomas and John, who married a sister of Andrew Hamilton, and a sixth child, name unknown.

MORRIS, JOHN

Served in George Rogers Clark's expedition into the Illinois country in 1778 and 1779. He was captain of Kanawha County militia and served with the Virginia troops in the Whisky Rebellion in Pennsylvania. He was the father of Bishop Thomas A. Morris, and of Edmund Morris, first clerk of Cabell County. He had moved from near the mouth of Campbell's Creek, Kanawha County, to near Bethesda Church, Cabell County, and died near there in 1818.

MORRIS, WILLIAM

Born in England and emigrated to Philadelphia. He later moved to Orange County, Virginia, where he married Elizabeth Stipps. To them were born eight sons and two daughters. The Morris family was living in the Kanawha Valley at Fort Morris, at the mouth of Kelly's Creek, when Dunmore's War broke out. Six of William Morris' sons, William, Jr.; Henry, Leonard, Joshua, Levi, and John, joined the army of General Andrew Lewis in 1774 and took part in the Battle of Point Pleasant. William, Jr., was wounded.

Following are the members of the family: William Morris, Jr., born, 1746, married Catherine Carroll, 1768; Henry, born, 1747, married Mary Byrd; Leonard, born, 1748, first married Margaret Price and then Margaret Lykins; Joshua, born, 1752, married Francis Simms; Levi, born, 1753, first married Margaret Stark and then Margaret Jarrett; John,

born, 1755, married Margaret Droddy; Achilles (Carroll) Morris, born, 1760, married Elizabeth Jarrett, Benjamin, born, 1770, married Nancy Jarrett; Elizabeth, born, 1772, married Michael See; Frances, born, 1773, married John Jones.

MORRIS (MORRISS), ZADOC (ZADOCK)
Service—Delaware Va. No. 9058 No. S. 38247

He enlisted as a private in Captain Thomas Holland's company, Colonel David Hall's Delaware Regiment, in June, 1777. On August 16, 1780, he was reported missing in action, but for what reason is unknown.

He received pension in Monongalia County, in 1819, at which time he was 60 years old and his wife, 50. They had sons, aged 14 and 13, and a son and daughter, twins, aged 11. Supporting data was submitted by Joseph Lapp. His pension was suspended in 1821 but was restored in 1829.

MORROW, CHARLES (Captain)

Lived both in Martinsburg and Shepherdstown and served three years in the southern campaigns during the Revolution. Was a brother-in-law of James Rumsey, inventor of the steamboat.

MORROW, JOHN (Colonel)

Was a resident of Shepherdstown. Near the close of the Revolution, he may have been colonel or lieutenant-colonel of Berkeley County militia. He accompanied some of the militia to the West in 1779. He married the widow of Major Henry Peyton, formerly Mary Rutherford, daughter of Robert Rutherford.

MORROW, RALPH

Ralph Morrow, who spent his latter years in Taylor County, Virginia, was a soldier in the Revolutionary Army.

MORROW, THOMAS (Captain)

Taken prisoner in battle of Long Island; exchanged in ill health and died in 1778. Was made captain during his imprisonment.

MORTON, EDWARD
Service—Virginia Va. No. 4980 No. S. 5778

Born, 1764; died, February 20, 1852. Enlisted Augusta County, Virginia, in September 1780 and served under Captains Bell, Hicklin, Buchanan in the Virginia Line under General Morgan at Cowpens, Clover Lick, and the siege and capture of Yorktown. Received pension in Pendleton County, Virginia, 1833, for six months service. Supporting data filed by Edward Stewart and William McCoy.

MOUNTS, HUMPHREY

Before the Harrison County court, July 20, 1818, Humphrey Mounts made affidavit that he had enlisted in the Legion commanded by General Pulaski for one year, and that he was on furlough owing to ill health

at the time General Pulaski was killed at Short Hills. He later rejoined the army at Wilmington and continued under the command of Captain Bodkin in the same legion of horse until discharged at Ringwood Furnaces by Lord Sterling.

MOUNTSFIELD, THOMAS

Private in Captain Shepherd's company. Taken prisoner and died, February 5, 1777.

MOUSER, JACOB

Born in Germany and served in the German Regiment in the Virginia Line during the Revolution. He probably lived in Hampshire County, during the Revolution, and later moved to Rowlesburg, Preston County, Virginia, where he kept a tavern. His children were: Rebecca, William, Mary Ann, Elizabeth, Benjamin. Rebecca, born, November 17, 1803, married Abraham Wilson, son of William and Rebecca Ferguson Wilson, December 28, 1820, according to Monongalia County marriage bonds. Resided in Taylor County, where she died in 1880 and is buried in the Haymond Cemetery.

MUCHLEVAINE (MUCKLEWAINE), (TUNIS)

Service—Virginia Va. No. 23337 No. S. 9043

Born, August 19, 1759, Rockingham County, Virginia, and later lived in Pendleton, Randolph, Nicholas, Lewis, and Kanawha counties, Virginia. While living in Pendleton County enlisted in August 1776, for Revolutioary War service, and served under Captains Davis, Trimble, Stewart, Hutton, Nelson, Bogard, Duvall, Dyer; Colonels Gregg, Hutton, McCoy, and Westford. Pension was issued to the soldier in Kanawha or Lewis County in 1834 but was suspended two years later in letter which also mentions as suspended the cases of Alex Thompson, Isaac Mace, and Zephaniah Nicholas. Supporting data had been filed by D. Hardway and Jacob Mucklewaine.

MURPHY, PATRICK

Private under Captain Shepherd. Died on prison ship, February 15, 1777.

MYERS, CASPER

Private in Captain Shepherd's company of riflemen. Died in prison, February 16, 1777.

MYERS, HENRY

Born, March 15, 1736, Berkeley County, Virginia. He enlisted in 1776 in York Town, Pennsylvania, to which place he had gone to learn his trade, in a company commanded by Captain Christian Stakes in a regiment commanded by Colonel Swope. He served in this company until Colonel Swope, Captain Stake, Lieutenant Holsinger, and Ensign Barnett were captured at the surrender of Fort Washington on York Island, November 16, 1776. The regiment being nearly destroyed, he was trans-

ferred to a corps under General Putnam and took part in the capture of the Hessians at Trenton, December 26, 1776, and was one of the guards sent with the prisoners to Philadelphia. He was discharged, returned to Berkeley County, and there engaged in militia service under Captain Duncan and later under Captain Linder, and took part in the siege of Yorktown.

Pension was applied for in Berkeley County, August 15, 1832. Supporting statement submitted by Major Henry Bedinger, who knew him in service. He also mentions Teter Myers, his brother, Archibald Scherer, and John Kisinger as persons familiar with his military activities.

MYERS, LUDWIG (Captain)

Lived near Shepherdstown. Served as a captain of infantry during the Revolution.

NAY, JACOB

Before the Harrison County court, Jacob Nay testified that he was drafted for eighteen months service in Culpepper County, Virginia, and served in the company of Captain Lamb in Colonel Gaston's Regiment under the immediate command of Baron Von Steuben. Soon afterwards, he was transferred to the corps of cavalry commanded by Captain Gunn under Colonel White and continued in this corps for twenty months. He was then permitted to rejoin his old regiment under Major Findley and continued with him until his discharge by General Scott. He was in the skirmish at Jones Island where Colonel Lawrence was killed.

NAY, JOHN

Born, Culpepper County, Virginia, 1750; died, October 9, 1838. There enlisted in 1778 as a private and served in various periods of enlistment until 1781 under Captain Reed, Generals Washington and Lafayette. Took part in the siege and capture of Yorktown. He mentions Colonel Benjamin Reed, Joseph Campbell, Benjamin Brice, and William Nay, a brother. He received pension in Harrison County, Virginia, in 1833. It was reduced in amount in 1835.

NEAL, JAMES (Captain)

Service—Virginia Va. No. 17443 No. S. 38257

Served three years or more in the Continental Line as a captain in the Seventh, Ninth, and Thirteenth Virginia Regiments in the Division of Generals Green and Muhlenberg. Took part in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. Resigned, January 3, 1779. After the Revolution, he brought a party of colonists to Wood County, Virginia, on the south side of the Little Kanawha River at what is now Parkersburg. Here he established a blockhouse and stockade, known as Neal's Station, which became an important frontier outpost.

He applied for pension in Wood County, in 1818, which was issued in 1821. His claims were supported by Colonel Hugh Phelps, Majors James G. Laidley, David Steel, Jacob Springer, and Captain Uriah Springer. One child, Mary Neal Foley, is mentioned.

NEELY, JOHN

Service—New York Va. No. 12107 No. W. 5408 and B. L. Wt. 38524

Born in New York City, 1758, and there enlisted in the Revolutionary Army in 1776; after the Revolution, moved to Uniontown, Pennsylvania, and later settled near the Lewis and Harrison County boundary line, where he died June 22, 1835. He is buried at the Broad Run Baptist Cemetery, Lewis County.

He served under Captains Telford, Fellner, Major Dennison, Colonel McClaugherty and General George Clinton, and also knew Major General James Clinton, brother of General George Clinton. Helped build Fort Montgomery and was there until November. Then from March, 1777, until October, 1777, was at Fort Clinton at which time it was captured. Was discharged, then re-enlisted and returned to New York. Helped build the fort at West Point in March, 1778, after which he was engaged in service on the frontier against the Indians, Tories, and British. Captured forty horses and many supplies. Was discharged in 1779. (He seems to have had a brother-in-law of the same name who may have served in 1780.)

Pension was granted in 1833, suspended, but apparently later resumed. Bounty land warrant was received for 160 acres. (A notation under B. L. Wt. 38956 indicates some uncertainty in the records.) Supporting data by Isaac and Philip Cox, James and John Brown, and Catherine Williams.

The soldier was married, March, 1787, in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, by James Neal. Wife's name Margaret. Their children were as follows: William, 1787; Mary, 1790; Matthew, 1791; Thomas, 1794; Lloyd, date missing; Filburn, 1796; John Hopkins, 1798; George, date missing.

NEIL, RICHARD

Born, 1756. Enlisted for three years at Williamsburg in 1778. Was wounded at Gates Depot. Made new pension application in Monroe County, in 1832, which was rejected.

NEILSON, JAMES

Enlisted, June 20, 1775, under Captain Stephenson.

NELSON, THOMAS

Served under Captain Stephenson in the Revolution. Was taken prisoner.

NETTLES, ABRAHAM

In the Greenbrier County Court in 1786 it was ordered certified that Abraham Nettles, a disabled soldier of the Continental Army, was unable to make a living owing to wounds received in service, and it was ordered that he be continued as a pensioner.

NEVILL, JOHN

Service—Virginia Va. No. 12451 No. S. 5827

Born, Hampshire, now Hardy County, Virginia, November 30, 1765.

Enlisted in March or April, 1781, and served six months as a private under Captains Stump and Anderson, Lieutenants Hornback and Sommerville in the Virginia Line under Major Higgins, Colonel Edmonds, Generals Lafayette, Wayne, and Muhlenberg. Also mentions Ensign James Duncan. Pension was granted in Hardy County, in 1833. Supporting data was filed by Martin Hawk and Jacob Yoakum. Apparently Nevill had substituted for Thomas Talbott and Isaac McNeill.

There is also a bounty land warrant from the Colony of Virginia but without explanatory papers.

NEVILLE, JOSEPH (General)

He was born in Fauquier County, Virginia, in 1740, and died at Moorefield, Virginia, now West Virginia, March 4, 1819. He served as a member of the House of Burgesses from Hampshire County, in 1773 and again in 1776.

He was also a member of the conventions of December 1, 1775, and May 6, 1776, the last of which declared for independence. He served gallantly through the Revolutionary War and was commissioned brigadier general. He was county surveyor of Hampshire County in 1784 and as such was one of the surveyors who helped to complete the Mason and Dixon Line.

He was often an associate of General George Washington in surveying lands in Hampshire County. As a justice of the peace he had arraigned before his court at Moorefield the first murder case in that part of what was then Hampshire County.

NICHOLAS, LEAVEN

Service—Pennsylvania-Virginia Va. No. 23027 No. S. 9440

Born in Kent County, Maryland, 1756. Lived in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, at the outbreak of the Revolution, and enlisted there in 1776, but moved to Greenbrier County, Virginia, in April, 1777. He served two years as an Indian spy under Captain Haglin in the Pennsylvania and Virginia Line under Colonels Lynn and Crawford. Received pension while living in Lewis County, Virginia, in 1833, and died there. Supporting data was filed in his case by David Cox and Benjamin Reynolds.

NICHOLS, RICHARDS

Service—Pennsylvania Va. No. 12088 No. S. 7271

Born, Prince William County, Virginia, 1759. While living in Washington County, Pennsylvania, in 1775, was drafted into the militia; substituted for his brother in 1776; volunteered in 1777; in 1778, substituted for his brother under Captain James Wright. Served as a private nineteen months under Captains Rickets, Crooks, Cisna, Wright, Ross, Crawford, in Campbell's Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line under Brodhead and McIntosh. Was in the engagement at Smoky Island.

Received pension in Wood County, Virginia, in 1833, which was dropped in 1834 without anything to show reinstatement. Supporting data submitted by Reece Wolf, A. Samuels, D. B. Spencer, and James Henderson.

NICHOLS, WILLIAM

The grave of William Nichols, a veteran of the Revolutionary War, is in Marion County, near Fairmont.

NICHOLS, ZEPHANIAH

Service—Virginia. Va. No. 23004 No. S. 9439

Born in Maryland in 1763 or 1764. Made application for pension, August 20, 1934, in Lewis and Kanawha counties, Virginia, and apparently proved two years service as an Indian spy. Pension was issued in 1833 but was dropped in 1836.

NICKLE (NICKELL), ISAAC

Service—Virginia No. R. 7646

Born in Augusta County, Virginia, 1761. Took part in the Indian campaign of 1774 under Captain John Lewis, fought in the battle of Point Pleasant of that year in a company with Captain John Henderson. In 1777, he was drafted in Greenbrier County, under Captain Arbuckle and Colonel Lewis. Marched to Elk River, and from there to Point Pleasant where he served out his enlistment. He was drafted in 1781 out of Captain Andrew Nickle's company of militia to take part in expedition against the Indians along the Great Lakes, but hired a substitute in his stead. The soldier applied for pension in Monroe County, Virginia, in 1833, but his claim was rejected. Supporting data was filed by Samuel Clark, Robert Coalter, Henry Alexander, and John Dowell.

NIPPER, (NIPPERS), GEORGE

Service—Virginia Va. No. 13857 No. S. 38265

Enlisted in Hampshire County, Virginia, and served from 1778 to 1781 as a private in the company of Captain Wallace in the Sixth Virginia Regiment, commanded by Colonel Richard Campbell. Took part in the campaigns at Waxhaw where he was taken prisoner, and at Yorktown. Received pension in Hardy County, Virginia, in 1819, at which time the soldier was 66 years old. His family consisted of the following: Reuben, 19; Delilah, 21; Milly, 18; Betsy, 15; Polly, 12; Nancy, 9. Supporting data was filed in this case by John Smith, and Colonel Joseph Van Meter.

NIXON, JOHN

Enlisted as a private under Captain Shepherd. Reported absent after February 15, 1777.

NORRIS, JOHN (Sergeant)

Service—Virginia. Va. No. 16713 No. W. 19930

Born, Fauquier County, Virginia, July 4, 1760; died, February 12, 1835, and is buried in the Mays Cemetery near Jackson's Mill, Lewis County. Enlisted, February 1777, in Fauquier County, served five months as private and three months as sergeant under Captain Scott in the Virginia militia. He mentions among other officers First Lieutenant John Kincheloe,, Second Lieutenant J. Hathaway, Ensign James Hathaway,

Captains Thurston, Morgan, Morehead, Holmes, and Colonels Stricker and Hollingsworth.

Soldier was married to Mary Jones, March 25, 1782, Fauquier County, by the Rev. James Craig of the Episcopal Protestant Church. Soldier received pension in Lewis County, in 1833, and widow also received pension after his death. Supporting data was filed by John Bailey, Mrs. Frances Bailey, a sister, and others.

NUTTER, CHRISTOPHER

Service—Virginia Va. No. 6538 No. W. 5434 and B. L. Wt. 26388

Born, Sussex County, Delaware, January 21, 1760; died February 21, 1845. Enlisted at Nutter's Fort, Harrison County, Virginia, and served from 1780 to 1783 as a private under Captain William Lowther with the Virginia troops under George Rogers Clark and Jackson in activities on the Ohio River and in the Nutter's Fort vicinity. Mentions Captain Thomas Nutter.

Married Rebecca Morehead, June 28, 1785, Harrison County, Virginia, with Isaac Edwards as minister. Soldier received pension in 1833 and his widow got pension after his death. Bounty land warrant was received for 160 acres. The widow, born 1767, died October 10, 1861.

NUTTER, THOMAS (Captain)

Came to Harrison County, Virginia, in 1770, and built Nutter's Fort about 1772 which became an important border post. He was a captain of Virginia militia during the Revolution and took an active part in the suppression of Indian raids. He died shortly before an inventory of his personal estate was made, August 6, 1802, for his son and administrator, Christopher Nutter, and was buried in the Nutter Cemetery near his former home.

OBART (OBERT), JOHN

Service—New Jersey Va. No. 4629 No. W. 4752 and B. L. Wt. 25381

Enlisted in 1775 in New Brunswick, New Jersey, in the company of Captain John Conaway, First New Jersey Regiment, Continental Line, and took part in the battle of Monmouth. He was married in Cortland County, New York, to Mary or Polly Stone, but the date is uncertain. Soldier applied for pension in Washington, D. C., in 1818, which was later transferred to Harrison County, Virginia.

Soldier died, June 17, 1832, at age of 80. Widow applied for pension in Cortland County, New York. Bounty land warrant issued for 160 acres. Supporting data submitted by Moses Scott, George Miller, and Amanda McKeel.

ODELL, JEREMIAH

Service—Virginia Va. No. 16635 No. S. 6905

Born, Powell Fort, Shenandoah County, Virginia, November 1, 1761; died 1842 or 1843. Enlisted in the summer of 1779 or 1780 in Shenandoah County and served in the company of Captains Denton and Sharp in the Virginia Line commanded by Colonel Edwards and General Stephens.

In his home county, the soldier was married to Rachel Watters by James Ireland, August 6, 1782. Their children are as follows: Jacob, Christine (Nutter), Miriam (Hughes), Jeremiah, and John. In Nicholas County, Virginia, in 1833, pension was granted the soldier but it was suspended two years later. Supporting data was submitted by Elverton Walker, John Campbell, John Smith, William Eagle, Rachel Odell, Jacob Dodson, Margaret Foster, and James Allen McArany.

OGDEN, SAMUEL

Service—New Jersey Va. No. 19585 and 19305 No. S. 38273

Enlisted in New Jersey and served from May 10, 1780, to June 5, 1783, under Captain Jonathan Phillips, in the New Jersey Light Infantry. Continental Establishment, commanded by Colonel Shreve. Took part in the military activities at Springfield and was at the siege and capture of Yorktown. In the closing days of the war, he was transferred to Captain Bowman's company, which was later under Captain Weyman.

The soldier was 61 years old in 1824, at which time his wife, Elizabeth, was 55, a son, John, 15, and a daughter, Mary, 14, years of age. Soldier received pension in Washington County, Pennsylvania, and his wife in Brooke County, Virginia.

OLDHAM, CONAWAY (Lieutenant)

Enlisted as a private under Captain Stephenson. Later commissioned lieutenant.

OLDHAM, WILLIAM (Colonel)

Son of Samuel Oldham, Berkeley County, Virginia. Enlisted under Captain Daniel Morgan, June, 1775. Went with him to Quebec. Apparently escaped capture. Moved to Kentucky. Noted as an Indian fighter. He was colonel of Kentucky militia, and served at St. Claire's defeat in 1791 where he was killed.

O'NEAL, JOHN

Service—Pennsylvania. Va. No. 16626 No. S. 38272

Enlisted, Ohio County, Virginia, in the fall of 1776 in company commanded by Captain Van Swearingen, marched to Hannahstown, now Greensburg, thence to Philadelphia where his company was attached to the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment under Colonel McCoy, a part of General Anthony Wayne's division. In April, 1777, he was taken prisoner by the British and held until May, 1778, when exchanged, rejoined his company, and served until the capture of Cornwallis. During the fighting about Yorktown, he was wounded in both shoulders and discharged by Lieutenant Colonel Stephen Bayard. He then enlisted with Captain Francis Revellie of Maryland in the Fourth Maryland Regiment, commanded by General Smallwood which was also under General Wayne, and was wounded again at Little Rock and discharged.

He applied for pension in Ohio County, in 1818, which was granted in 1820. He had two children at that time; Bennett and John. Two brothers of the soldier, Bennett and Johnson, are also mentioned. Supporting data was submitted by James Bonar and William Durno.

O'NEALE (O'NEAL or O'NEIL), CONSTANTIA (CONSTANTINE)
Service—Pennsylvania. (12756) Va. No. 16554 No. W. 5446

Enlisted, August 9, 1776, Kittanning, Pennsylvania, under Captain Van Swearingen of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment commanded by Colonel McCoy. His discharge, showing service from August 9, 1776, to October 19, 1779, under Van Swearingen, and signed by Lieutenant Colonel Stephen Bayard is filed in the War Department offices.

Pension was issued to the soldier in Ohio County, Virginia, or Jackson County, Virginia, in 1833, apparently on application made in 1827. Soldier, born, 1753, died September 16, 1834. Wife, formerly Catherine Shepherd, died January 17, 1847. Their children were: Deborah, married Abel Van Sikock; Mary, married James Manning; Betsy, married John O'Neal (perhaps this name is wrong); Barnabas. Supporting data was filed by Obadiah Hardesty, John O'Neal, and Rachel Henry.

OLIVER, SAMUEL
Service—Virginia No. S. 38270

Enlisted, Frederica, Delaware, February 12, 1776, and served as a private six years. Served under Captain Adams in Continental Regiment commanded by Colonel Hazlett and Lord Stirling, and fought at Long Island, White Plains, Trenton, and Princeton. Reference is made to the Delaware Blues with which he may have served.

Pension application was made in Lewis County, Virginia, which was granted in 1819. The widow, Lydia, died in 1839 before the pensioner. William Oliver, an heir, died in 1852.

ORNDORFF, CHRISTIAN (Captain)

Distinguished by service at Bennington and Skeenborough. Lived at Sharpsburg but moved to near Shepherdstown after the Revolution. His daughter married Jonathan Hagar who named his settlement Elizabeth Town in her honor, but it was later changed to Hagerstown.

ORR, JOHN
Service—Maryland and Pennsylvania Va. No. 16180 No. R. 16849

Enlisted, 1777, Baltimore, Maryland, in company of Captain J. Baker. Marched to Kent and served on guard duty along the Delaware. Drafted again at Baltimore under Captain Clendenen, and Colonel Holland. His father took him to Redstone, Pennsylvania, in 1780, there volunteered under Captain John Ashcraft, marched against the Indians up the Allegheny, and later was with Colonel Crawford in the Sandusky campaign. He was wounded in the hip, was furnished with a horse by Colonel McClelland and sent to the fort on the Ohio at McMahan's Bottom until he recovered.

Received pension in Preston County, but it was dropped when Special Agent Singleton refused to give him credit for service which he called that of an Indian spy. Soldier married Elizabeth Johns, January 1792, in Fayette County, Pennsylvania. Their children were Catherine (Fortney), John, Hiram, Ruth (Menear), George, William. Soldier died, April 14, 1840; his widow died, February 7, 1851. Supporting data filed by James Collins and Rachel McClelland, a sister of the pensioner.

OUR, (OURS or OWER), SEARCHMAN
Service—Virginia Va. No. 23668 No. R. 16873

Born in Hampshire County, Virginia, in 1775; died, September 15, 1844. There he enlisted in March, 1778, under Captain Robert Cunningham in the Virginia Line and was engaged in various marches and guard duty. Other officers were Lieutenant Park, Captain Morgan, Major Taylor and Colonel Gibson.

His wife, Mary Simon, was born in 1761. Their children were: Catherine, 1783; Ann Maria, 1784; Elizabeth, 1786; Eve, 1788; Sarah, 1791; Jacob, 1796; Solomon, 1801. Another son, born in 1780, was dead. Pension was granted both soldier and his widow in Hardy County, Virginia. Supporting data was filed by Jacob Barkdoll, Jacob Ketterman, and George Simon.

PAINE (PAYNE), GEORGE
Service—Virginia Va. No. 20908 No. S. 38980

Enlisted, Fauquier County, Virginia, and served from 1780 to 1782 as a private under Captain Atwell and Armstead, Virginia Regiment of the Continental Line, commanded by Colonel John Green and Sam Howes, and Majors Smith and Sneed. Received honorable discharge, January 17, 1782, Salisbury, North Carolina. Applied for and received pension, Hampshire County, Virginia, 1829. Death probably in 1839.

PAITSELL, JACOB
Service—Virginia Va. No. 35956 No. W. 3858 and B. L. Wt. 24982

Enlisted, Rees Tavern, Burks County, Virginia, in the fall of 1777 and served until 1790 under Captain Sam Moore of the Pennsylvania Line Regiment, commanded by Colonel Thomas Craig. Married December 8, 1790 in Martinsburg, Berkeley County, to Mary Cashman or Kershman. Soldier received pension in 1829. He died November 4, 1840, and his widow likewise received pension. Her pension application, made out by her uncle, Christian Black, is written in German. Bounty land warrant for 160 acres was issued in May, 1856.

PARKER, JAMES
Service—Virginia Va. No. 16378 No. W. 6853

Born, 1759, Middletown, Maryland, and died April 15, 1838. Enlisted, Hampshire County, Virginia, in 1778 under Captain Abraham Johnson in the Virginia Regiment commanded by Colonel Riddle and Major Van Meter under General McIntosh. Took part in several campaigns in Virginia. Also mentions other officers. Married in Hampshire County, December 1782, to Rebecca Wolf. She was aged 86 in 1848. Their children's names are blurred but appear to be James, Thornton, Elizabeth, Daniel, and Ashford.

Soldier received pension in 1833 in Hampshire County, as did his widow. Their claims were supported by Thomas Carskaddon, Fred Sheetz, Henry Pursett, and Captain Ed McCarty.

PARROT, CHRISTOPHER (Sergeant)
(Name changed to Parriott in 1835 by petition of surviving sons)

Born, March 25, 1755, Prince George County, Maryland, died, October 1, 1820, Romney, Hampshire County, Virginia. Believed to be of English descent. Enlisted at Annapolis, Maryland, August, 1777, and served until August, 1780, under Colonel J. E. Howard of the Second Maryland Regiment, and took part in battles of Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, Stony Point, and Yorktown. He apparently reenlisted and served until 1782 or 1783.

Soldier was married, January 21, 1781, to Martha Clark in Marlborough, Prince Edward County, Maryland. She was the daughter of Abraham Clark, and died December 19, 1839, at Moundsville, Marshall County. In 1839, their children were named as John, Ann, Dennis, and Joseph.

PARSONS, JAMES
Service—Virginia Pa. No. 16476 and Va. No. S. 40239

Enlisted at Accomack Courthouse, Virginia, in 1776 and served eighteen months as a fifer under Captains Palmer, Braxton, and Easthan in the Ninth Virginia Regiment, under Colonel Fleming, and Lieutenant Colonel Matthews. Took part in the battle of Germantown. In 1780, served an additional six months. Pension was granted in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, in 1820. (Note Captain James Parsons following.)

PARSONS, JAMES (Captain)

Captain James Parsons, second son of Thomas Parsons, Jr., was born in Virginia. He enlisted in the Revolutionary War and rose to the rank of captain. He and his brother, Thomas, were early explorers of Randolph County, and established claims in the Horseshoe of what is now Tucker County as early as 1770. (Note above James Parsons.)

PARSONS, JOSEPH
Service—Virginia Va. No. 23321 No. S. 8942

Born in Queen Anne County, Maryland, in 1755. Moved to Virginia in 1763-64 and lived in Rockingham or Augusta County. Was living in West Augusta, now Lewis County, West Virginia in 1776. After the Revolution lived in Wood and Jackson counties.

Enlisted in the Revolutionary Army May 1, 1777, and served under Ensign Radcliffe and Captain James Booth at Buckhannon, West, Arnold and Nutter forts in the Upper Monongahela Valley. Mentions Captains Maxwell, Tremble, and Jackson; Lieutenants Freeman and Brake, and Ensign Timothy Dorman. Refers to the killing of Captain Booth by the Indians, June, 1778.

Pension was granted in Lewis County, and Jackson County, 1833, but he was dropped from the rolls in 1835. Evidence in the case is submitted by Elias Parsons and Captain William Parsons, both nephews. His claim was supported by David Sleeth, Adam Flesher, and Alex West.

PARSONS, THOMAS

Born in Virginia, November 11, 1731, and died in Hardy County, Vir-

ginia, in 1804. He was married to Mary Renick in 1758. He served in the Revolutionary War as a private, first in the Seventh Virginia Regiment, then in the Eleventh Virginia Regiment, and then in Company Nine under Captain George Rice of Colonel Daniel Morgan's Eleventh and Fifteenth consolidated regiments.

PARSONS, WILLIAM (Captain)

He was born in Hardy County, September 25, 1760, the first son of Thomas and Mary Rennick Parsons; died September 10, 1829, and his will is filed in Randolph County. Settled in Randolph (now Tucker) County, in pioneer days and built a home on Horseshoe Run. He is buried in Bethel Cemetery, Tucker County.

Cadet, Sixth Virginia, March 25, 1776; coronet, Third Continental Dragoons, February 6, 1777; taken prisoner at Tappan, September 27, 1778; lieutenant, January 1, 1778; captain, November 1779; retained in Baylor's Consolidated Regiment of Dragoons November 9, 1782, and served to end of war. Land bounty was received by Parsons for his military services.

(Compare with second William Parsons).

PARSONS, WILLIAM

Service—Virginia Va. No. 13194 No. R. 7981

Born, October 15, 1760. Enlisted in Hampshire County under Captains Fisher and Cunningham in unit commanded by General McIntosh. He married Catherine Stoker, April 5, 1785, and their marriage is recorded in Hampshire County. A brother, James Parsons, is mentioned, and this brother offers a supporting affidavit in the Samuel Bonnifield case also. Pension claims seem to have been confused with that of another William Parsons who was rejected by Special Federal Agent Singleton in 1835. (See first William Parsons.)

PATTON, JOHN

Service—Pennsylvania Va. No. 16452 No. S. 8931

Born, 1749. Enlisted, Chester County, Pennsylvania, and served periods in 1776, 1777, and 1778 under Captains J. McDowell and Hays in the Pennsylvania Line Regiment commanded by Colonel Montgomery. Fought at Staten Island and Princeton. Received pension in Harrison County, Virginia, 1833. Supporting data filed by John Waldo and Daniel Morris. (The suspension marked against this pensioner on the printed list of 1835 is in error and belongs to rejected File No. R. 8012 of John Patton of Greenbrier County.)

PATTON, JOHN

Service—Virginia No. R. 8012

Applied for pension in Greenbrier County, August 22, 1835, which was refused on the grounds that the applicant had performed only civil duty for self preservation.

PATTON, TRISTRAM

Born, Tyrone County, Ireland, 1752; emigrated to America in 1777; died,

1843. He served in the Revolutionary Army and is believed to have been a member of Washington's body guard. He married Jean Nelson in 1808 and lived for many years in Monroe County, Virginia.

PATTON, WILLIAM

Born, April 21, 1761; settled in Coleran Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania; there was married in 1786. Came to Harrison County, Virginia, about 1800 and settled on a tract of 300 acres near West Milford. He died, July 28, 1826, and is buried in a private cemetery on the same land. He served as a soldier in the Revolution.

Book Review

THE SOUL OF A NATION: THE FOUNDING OF VIRGINIA AND THE PROJECTION OF NEW ENGLAND. By Matthew Page Andrews. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943. Pp. xi and 378. $3.50.

To a distinguished West Virginia historian, Dr. Matthew Page Andrews, a native of Shepherdstown transplanted in Baltimore and an authority on Maryland history, goes the honor and credit for writing what is hailed by students and critics as the best single volume history of Virginia. His sound, scholarly, and readable work, *Virginia: The Old Dominion*, published in 1937, admirably filled that long felt need in historiography. In the preface to the book, the author pointed out that the amount of material which he laid aside reluctantly for lack of space was much greater than that included. Realizing the possibilities of those forced omissions and encouraged by the success of the book, many of his friends, led by that gracious patron of the Arts, Honourable Alexander W. Weddell, urged him to undertake the writing of a multi-volume history of Virginia. *The Soul of a Nation* is the first volume of the projected series. For that reason criticism is extremely difficult and unfair because it can be evaluated properly only in the light of the completed series.

The present volume, covering the background, the founding, and the history of the Colony of Virginia to 1624, is the result of intermittent efforts for over twenty years "in locating, collating, and evaluating new, old, and neglected material on American beginnings." It is based almost entirely on primary sources gleaned from American, British, and Spanish Archives. Well selected excerpts from contemporary seventeenth century writings, many penned by Jamestown colonists, give atmosphere and human interest to the narrative.

Many interesting and illuminating bits of information not included in the text are put in Addenda to Chapters and in footnotes. Although there are fifteen pages of Notes at the end of the text, the book does not contain a bibliography. It is hoped that Dr. Andrews will include an exhaustive, critical bibliography in the series. However, in the present volume, he has followed the advice of testing "the credibility of the witness" and has critically examined the various accounts on which his text is based. Perhaps as a war exigency, the book does not contain illustrations nor detailed maps, which are very desirable in a volume of this character.

In 1934, the National Park Service acquired the major portion of Jamestown Island as a part of the Colonial National Historical Park and began the fascinating work of conducting an archaeological-historical investigation of the area. Although this study had to be abandoned temporarily as an economy measure, the results thus far have yielded a wealth of new data on the everyday life of Jamestown throughout its

precarious existence. No doubt Dr. Andrews will draw on this material before he completes the story of the ill-fated town in future volumes.

From all the mass of evidence gathered and studied by the author, he brings a fresh appraisal of American beginnings. In this materialistic age, it is most gratifying to learn at last of the idealistic origins of the English settlements in the Western Hemisphere. Much has been written about the political and economic motives. A corporation, the Virginia-London Company, some of its members being active in Oriental commercial ventures, established Jamestown. Nevertheless, Dr. Andrews finds that the settlements "were first maintained by men who envisioned the extension of the English church and realm, the spread of representative government, and the conversion of the aborigines, for whom at considerable outlay they planned free schools and a college." It is very fitting and appropriate that the book should be dedicated "To the memory of SIR EDWIN SANDYS, founder-in-chief of representative government in America and active proponent of the repatriation of his fellow-Englishmen exiled in the Netherlands." In the long list of Englishmen who have fought for liberal principles, Sir Edwin Sandys, sometime head of the Virginia-London Company, merits the prominent place accorded him in the book.

Like most human endeavors, the Virginia enterprise suffered from jealousies, conflicting opinions, and clashes of personalities both within the Company in England and among the colonists in America. Beginning with the greatest geographer of Elizabethan England, Richard Hakluyt, who "sold" the idea of colonizing the New World to his countrymen, Dr. Andrews enhances his account of the Virginia settlement by sketching the major characters in that story. The scene is frequently shifted from the trials and tribulations of the settlers in the American wilderness to the factional conflicts between the liberal "patriot party" of the Company in England, led by Sandys, the Earl of Southampton, and the Ferrars, and the reactionary "Court party," led by the Earl of Warwick, Sir Thomas Smith, and Alderman Johnson. The Spanish menace, their intrigues in England and their threat in America, has its place in the drama of Jamestown. Both the friendliness and treachery of the Indians are covered in excellent accounts of Powhatan, Pocahontas, Chanco, Opechancanough, and the General Massacre of 1622.

No account of Jamestown is complete without a detailed presentation of the colorful and controversial, doughty old warrior, Captain John Smith. No character of those early days had a better "press-agent" than he, for his extensive writings exaggerate his own exploits and minimize the activities of his associates. For years his *Works* have been a main source of information on the Virginia settlement. However, Dr. Andrews is most judicious and fair in his treatment of Smith. Having carefully checked Smith's narratives against those of others, he concludes that the Captain "stands convicted of casting unjust aspersions upon the conduct and character of associates . . ., particularly Christopher Newport." As to the well-known romantic story of Pocahontas saving Smith's life, the author believes that it will never be proved or disproved. Perhaps the best key to the personality of Smith may be found in his own words when he declares that Jamestown and Plymouth and all other

American "discoveries I can yet heare of, are but pigs of my own sow."

Although the dissolution of the Virginia-London Company came only seventeen years after the Jamestown settlers landed and despite the fact that, from a material standpoint, there had been a lack of dividends, Dr. Andrews stresses the significant achievements of the Company leaders in sowing "the seeds of liberty and local self-government for an entire continent." The Charter prepared by Sandys in 1609, giving the Company control over colonial affairs, paved the way for "The greate Charter of privileges, orders, and laws" of 1618. Under its provisions, the first legislative assembly in America convened in "the Quire of the church" at Jamestown on July 30, 1619, (O. S.) over two years before the Plymouth settlement in Massachusetts. Fortunately for the Colony, the Company selected the able and industrious Sir George Yeardley as Governor to carry out the provisions of The Great Charter and he sat with the Assembly at its first meeting. Suggesting the thought that England had in Sir Edwin Sandys the prototype and predecessor of Richard Bland and Thomas Jefferson, the author concludes his book with the statement that it was no accident that Virginia "which nurtured a George Yeardley should bring forth a George Washington." To those liberal leaders and their Company associates, America owes the genesis of its priceless heritage of free institutions.

Bear Garden Farm, Hanover, Virginia B. FLOYD FLICKINGER

State History as Featured by the Press

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Americana (October, 1943), *On the Writings of Administrative History: Civil and Military Agencies*, by Schuyler Haslett; *Valley Forge during World War II*, by John Robbins Hart; *Notes on Three Virginia Families*, by Myrtle M. Lewis.

National Historical Magazine (November, 1943), *Mayflower Folk*, by Vylla Poe Wilson; *The Old Flag Comes Home*, by Bertha H. Dillenbeck; (December, 1943), *Philadelphia's Indian Background*, by Margaret J. Marshall; (January, 1944), *Early American Treaty Makers*, by L. P. Hart; (February, 1944), *The English Ancestors of George Washington*, by Vylla P. Wilson; *An Old Landmark Passes Into Obscurity*—Old home of Seay family (nearly 200 years old) at Fork Union, Virginia; *George Washington National Masonic Memorial Temple*, by Frances Sinclair.

The Journal of Southern History (November, 1943), *James Buchanan and the Crisis of the Union*, by Frank Thyson Kingberg; *The Defense of Slavery in the Northern Press on the Eve of the Civil War*, by Howard C. Perkins; *The Tennessee Constitution of 1796: A Product of the Old West*, by John D. Barnhart.

The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography (October, 1943), *In Search of Jefferson's Birthplace*, by Fiske Kimball.

Magazine of the Jefferson County Historical Society (December, 1943), *Falling Spring*, by Nannie Moss Steptoe.

Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine (January, 1944), *Minor Washingtoniana*, ed. by W. A. Bryan; *Washington's Birthday, 1860*, by Philip G. Auchampaugh.

The North Carolina Historical Review (October, 1943), *Public Buildings in Craven County, 1722-1835* (early North Carolina public buildings), by Alonzo Thomas Dill, Jr.; *Camp Newspapers of the Confederacy*, by

Bell Wiley; (January, 1944), *The Southern Refutation of the Proslavery Argument*, by Kenneth M. Stampp.

NEBRASKA HISTORY (July-September, 1943), *The Spanish-American War*, by Colonel F. D. Eager.

THE ARKANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY (December, 1943), *Major Wolf and Abraham Lincoln, an Episode of the Civil War*, by Frances Shiras; *An Arkansas Lady in the Civil War—Reminiscences of Susan Fletcher*, ed. by Mary P. Fletcher.

MICHIGAN HISTORY (January-March, 1944), *Michigan Immigration*, by the late William L. Jenks.

WEST VIRGINIA REVIEW (January, 1944), *Morgan Morgan's Church; West Virginia's Eighteenth Governor; The Courthouse Wars*, by Eva Margaret Carnes; (February, 1944), *West Virginia's Seventeenth Governor; Mr. Lincoln at Harper's Ferry*, by Boyd B. Stutler.

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BROOKE COUNTY NEWS (Wellsburg), *Ministers Send Greetings to Men and Women in U. S. Armed Services*, December 10.

CHARLESTON GAZETTE, *Story of First Steamboat on the Kanawha River*, November 28; *Story of Fleming Cobbs*, January 2; *Citizens Protest Opening of Charleston's First Public School in 1862*, January 23 (from DO YOU REMEMBER, a column by Mrs. Billie Richardson); *Former Teays Valley Woman Recalls Days of Civil War; Battle of Scary Related*, November 28; *Late Paul Beck, Charleston's Aviation Pioneer, Held American Air Endurance and Speed Records*, December 20.

CHARLESTON DAILY MAIL, *Lincoln Alive in Spirit to Custodian of His Tomb*, February 12.

BECKLEY POST-HERALD, *Man Older than State Recalls Early Days of Beckley*, February 12.

THE REGISTER (Beckley), *Paintings by Ansted Woman Sent to Seventeen Nations in Connection with "Round the World Peace Tour,"* February 27.

THE FAIRMONT TIMES, *The Rev. I. A. Barnes Recalls School Teachers of Yesterday*, December 8; *Story of Old Presbyterian Church*, December 30; *Story of Bishop Hughes; Colonel Ash Recalls Tales of Frontier Days in Marion County*, February 2; *The Organization of the McGuffey Society, February 10, 1934*, February 10; *The Old Barracksville Covered Bridge*, February 11; *Story of Anna Jarvis, Founder of Mother's Day*, February

23; *Wilbur S. Mayers Recalls Old Fairmont*, February 26. (all from DO YOU REMEMBER, a column by E. E. Meredith.)

GRAFTON NEWS, *Taylor County 100 Years Old*, January 21.

GRAFTON SENTINEL, *First Train in Grafton Sixty Years Ago*, February 4.

PARKERSBURG NEWS, *Old Publication Describes Funeral of George Washington*, December 23; *Wood County During the Civil War*, December 19; *Story of Mineral Wells Hotel*, by Cordelia Moellendick in column RAMBLING RAREBITS, February 6.

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MOUNDSVILLE DAILY ECHO, *Marshall County Historical Quiz Sponsored by Marshall County Historical Society*, December 3.

THE MORGANTOWN POST, *Postmortems—Thirty Years Ago*, December 4, 17.

NEW HAMPSHIRE REVIEW (Romney), *Fifty-six Years Ago—Commission Appointed to Establish Boundary Line Between Hampshire and Hardy Counties*, December 8.

THE REGISTER (Shepherdstown), *Old Houses in Shepherdstown*, by Mynna Thurston, February 3.

HERALD-DISPATCH (Huntington), *Huntington's First Use of Natural Gas, 1899*, December 3.

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THE WHEELING REGISTER, *Landmarks of Old Wheeling; Pictorial and Descriptive History of Ohio County*, November 28.

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THE POCAHONTAS TIMES (Marlinton), *Harper's Ferry—Story of Jackson's First Appearance There*, February 3.

THE MARTINSBURG NEWS, KNOW YOUR MARTINSBURG, a column by F. B. Voegele, December 17.

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*The Territorial Papers of the United States. By *Clarence Carter.* (Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, c1943, pp. 1372.)

*The Red River Valley, 1811-1849. By *John Pritchett.* (Washington, D. C., Carnegie Endowment, c1942, pp. 295.)

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*SIERRAN CABIN FROM SKYSCRAPER. By *C. M. Goethe.* (California, Keystone Press, c1943, pp. 185.)

*IN MEMORY OF JENNIE A. HUGHES. By *Arthur Hughes.* (Saint Albans, West Virginia, c1943, pp. 37.)

*JOSEPH SCHAFER, STUDENT OF AGRICULTURE. By the *State Historical Society of Wisconsin.* (Madison, Wisconsin State Historical Society, c1942, pp. 67.)

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* Gifts to Library.

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Editor's Page

A young man lay dead on a battlefield. His comrades pressed on. The war communique later said: *Victory with light casualties.* We read and rejoiced, counting the loss as the army counted it, in mere numbers of men killed and wounded; but can we really narrow our loss to a few cold-blooded statistics? Who was this young man? What dreams did he hold close to his heart? What were his capabilities? What might he not have done had he lived out his days in peace in a field of his own choosing? He might have been a potential Edison, an Einstein, a Lincoln, or a Pasteur.

No, our young man lying dead on the battlefield isn't just a casualty. His loss can never be properly evaluated because no one will ever know his latent possibilities. No one will ever know what his contributions to civilization might have been had he been permitted to live.

This young man died that others might live to realize the fulfillment of all their dreams and possibilities in a land made safe by his sacrifice, and the sacrifice of others like him. His body lying there is a direct challenge to every thinking man and woman. What do we owe him? What is our responsibility to him?

Oh, it is easy to wax sentimental and cheer lustily when the flag flutters across the silver screen; it is easy to go all-out in the salvage drives; it is easy to spend our surplus cash on war bonds, and our spare time in the Red Cross rooms; but it is hard to accept the challenge to responsibility that dead soldier flings to you and to me, and to the community of which each of us is a vital part.

He wanted to come back to the America he left. He wanted to find that America as he had left it; it wouldn't matter if he had to live in a prefabricated house, use plastic furniture, and had television with his radio—these things would mean material progress and he was used to

material progress in America. They wouldn't represent any change in the things that really mattered, the things that were essentially America: freedom to think and to act, freedom to accept opportunities offered, freedom to use one's initiative to better one's self and one's community to which there need be no boundaries.

He fought for these things. He can never come home again; but his younger sisters and brothers, his small son or daughter are with us, and it is our duty and our high privilege to see that they keep the things for which he fought and died.

The home, the school, the church, the community at large must accept his challenge. Anything that is allowed to encroach on the home is a direct menace to our democratic form of government; anything that takes any member of the family out of that home for too long a time menaces the very foundation of our way of life. Neither the school nor the church, vital as each is, can substitute for the home. And both these institutions must undergo radical changes if they are to retain their usefulness to the younger generations. This is a machine-run world, and schools must supplement the classical curriculum, in many communities even supplant it with one that keeps in mind that science will be the guiding force in the world after this war, and that the average man and woman makes a living with his hands.

A young man lay dead on the battlefield, his dreams unfulfilled, his possibilities unplumbed. Some boy or girl of school-age must grow into the place left vacant by him. It is our responsibility to this, our honored dead, to see that the boy or girl who takes his place is worthy of his sacrifice. We can do this only if we man the bulwarks of the home, the school, the church, and the ship of state, guarding carefully against those things that tend to destroy the America for which our soldier died. We can do this only if we instill in our young people the ideal that the life of service is the only one worth living; and that their opportunity for such a life is great, indeed. It is

they who must rebuild what others have destroyed. This will take much preparation, great skill, and greater courage. It will take real men and real women. Theirs will be the glory of great achievement; but theirs will also be the pain, and the heartbreak, and the disillusionment that walks ever by the side of those who live a life of service to others.